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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

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SOCIOCULTURAL INFLUENCES IN SMALL GROUP RESEARCH*

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All constituents of the individual's environment which are products of human interaction in the distant or recent past, or which are "man-made" (borrowing a phrase from Herskovits) are parts of the sociocultural setting. This setting includes the "man-made" environment consisting of "material culture" (i.e., economic setup, technology, village, city, neighborhood anchorings, etc.); of "nonmaterial" culture (i.e., language, sets of norms, norms concerning self-image, image of males and females, groups and their relations, professions, religion, art forms, etc.); of *social organization* of the group or groups to which the individual is related with more or less established *modes of reciprocities* (i.e., status and role relations).

I

Sociocultural influences are expressed initially on the stimulus side in relation to single individuals. In time the individual internalizes some of these influences to the extent of his participation in social life. Thus, sociocultural factors, as internalized, take their place in the motivational repertory of the individual in the form of social attitudes. Those attitudes which classify and define his relatedness to his surroundings in so many capacities become constituent parts of his very conception of his self—in short, parts of his ego system.

Not infrequently social psychologists have been prone to restrict the scope of sociocultural influences to the events of immediate interpersonal relations and to immediate situations. They have been prone to point out that whatever influences may be coming into the picture from the material and nonmaterial culture and from social organization will be

*The main points of this paper were delivered at a symposium entitled "Sociological and Anthropological Perspective in Small Group Research" at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Cleveland, Ohio, September 1953.

reflected in the interpersonal relations in the immediate situation. It is true that whatever influences may be coming from the past, from the life histories of individuals, whatever influences may be coming from the general sociocultural setting, of which the immediate situation is a part, will contribute to the shaping of interpersonal relations at the given time. For individuals do not abandon at the doorstep whatever part of the culture they have internalized when they interact with one another, and the immediate situation does not cease to be a part of the more general sociocultural setting. This fact, nevertheless, does not absolve us from the necessary task of relating the influences coming from the past to their specific referents, nor does it absolve us from specifying in so many words the relation of the immediate situation to the setting of which it is a part. Otherwise, the social psychologist is displaying lack of concern with certain aspects of the stimulus conditions.

In this connection, an illustration from Malinowski may be instructive. Malinowski describes the complex exchange system of the Argonauts of the Western Pacific called the Kula.¹ The Argonauts themselves "have no knowledge of the total outline of any of their social structure. . . . For the integral picture does not exist in his mind; he is in it, and cannot see the whole from the outside."²

Of course, if some investigators of small groups were on the spot studying face-to-face relations of these peoples, they would have found patches of the Kula system reflected in the interpersonal relations of small groups chosen for study. But if they were equipped first with the information which the sociologist or anthropologist can give us about the system, interpersonal relations and behavior within any small group will become intelligible and meaningful in terms of their relations to other interdependent parts of the system. If this is necessary in order to study face-to-face relationships represented in small group research in a functionally related and meaningful way, to this extent the social psychologist studying small groups has to be a sociologist or anthropologist if he wants to make his psychology social.

II

Small groups cannot be adequately studied independently of their appropriate sociocultural influences. Sociocultural influences, in turn, cannot be studied independently of the motives or "needs" of the group

¹ B. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (London: Routledge, 1922).

² *Ibid.*, p. 83.

members. Small groups serve a function of satisfying one or more motives of individual members. These may be motives related to food, economic gain, sex, or they may be related to a sense of belongingness, desire for recognition or social climbing, or other internalized social values. There is considerable evidence to show the effects of human motives in group formation and functioning, in bringing about social change, in effecting harmony and tension between groups.³

The point to be stressed here is the important implication that motivational factors coming from within the individual and sociocultural factors impinging on the individual at a given time operate interdependently. Therefore, taking sides either as the exponent of motives, needs, and instinct on the one hand or as the exponent of culture on the other is pointless and futile. Neither set of factors determines social behavior single-handedly, unaffected by the other. Nor can the relative contribution of each factor, motivational and cultural, be said to be the same for all cases. The relative contribution of motivational and cultural factors in determining social behavior will vary according to their place in the frame of reference, consisting of the totality of external and internal factors operating at a given time in a functionally interdependent way.⁴ This conception gives due weights to motivational and cultural factors, but according to the ways that they participate in the reference frame at the moment. At the same time, it takes cognizance of situational factors rightly stressed by some investigators. By studying variations in the relative contribution of various factors in given instances within such a functional scheme, scientific determination of the lawfulness of such variations will become feasible.

III

In order to comprehend the nature and problems of small group research as it flourishes today, we must turn briefly to its background. Theoretically and empirically, sociological studies have historical priority in showing systematic concern with the topic of small groups, as we learn from Faris' recent survey and evaluation of the small group research movement.⁵ For example, in his *Social Organization*, Charles H. Cooley introduced and elaborated his concept of primary groups, which

³ See, for example, M. Sherif, *An Outline of Social Psychology* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948), Chaps. 4 and 16.

⁴ M. and C. Sherif, *Groups in Harmony and Tension* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), Chaps. 6 and 8.

⁵ R. E. L. Faris, "Development of the Small Group Research Movement," Chap. 7, in *Group Relations at the Crossroads* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953). Edited by M. Sherif and M. O. Wilson.

is close to our present concept of small groups. He defined the concept as follows: "By primary groups I mean those characterized by intimate face-to-face association and cooperation. They are primary in several senses, but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual."⁶

As a definite empirical research movement, small group studies flourished in the twenties and thirties. The most impressive list of these came from University of Chicago sociologists under the initial inspiration especially of Robert E. Park. Thrasher's *Gang*, Anderson's *Hobo*, Clifford Shaw's *Jack Roller*, Zorbaugh's *Gold Coast and the Slum* are among the earlier works in this impressive series.

Psychologists' contributions to the mounting list are well represented in a large number of sociometric studies stemming from the work of Moreno and in studies by the Research Center for Group Dynamics initially under the direction of Kurt Lewin. Another impressive list of studies, especially in the area of industrial relations, comes from Elton Mayo and his associates at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration and the Chicago group studying human relations in industry. Studies along these lines have proliferated, especially in various institutions of technology, so that they are far too numerous to mention here.

Nowadays literally scores of studies are being conducted on various phases of the topic, such as productivity, leadership, morale, group cohesion, topics related to communication, etc. It cannot be said that this sudden boom in small group research is mainly due to the methodological advantages the study of the small group affords. The overwhelming impetus for this rapid development comes from the practical concerns of interested bodies and agencies outside institutions of learning.

Such impact of various agencies in fostering important developments in small group research poses a serious question to the research scholar in this area. These agencies, with their practical preoccupations, are naturally interested in more immediate solutions to their pressing problems. Is the role of the research scholar in group relations merely that of a technician? This issue was raised in editorial comment in two recent issues of the journal *Human Organization* under the title "Research—Business or Scholarship?"⁷ It leads to another related query which we raise without implying any dichotomy between so-called "pure" and

⁶ Charles H. Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), p. 23.

⁷ *Human Organization*, Vol. 11, Nos. 3 and 4, 1952.

applied research: Are the problems formulated by research men in response to immediate practical questions those problems which would be raised with long-range concern over an adequate conceptualization of group relations?

IV

If one of the objectives of concentration on small group research is attainment of some well-verified generalizations which can be applied to any group, at least in their essentials, serious consideration should be given to the kind of groups on which small group research is to be concentrated. The term *small group* is coming to mean all things to all people. It may mean simply small numbers of individuals. If this were the criterion, any small number of individuals in a togetherness situation would be considered a small group.

For example, one line of study flourishing at present is to take a small number of individuals, assign them a specific task with a specific goal in relation to the assigned task. In such cases the task is specific, and the interaction process of the small number of individuals in question is transitory, that is, confined to the duration of the assigned task. When the unit of interaction is merely in terms of a task unit in time and performance, the rise of leadership will be largely a function of the task at hand.

Of course, all data obtained from the various lines of research using a small number of individuals will add to our knowledge. But in extending the implications of findings obtained, we may be saved disappointment from the point of view of their validity if the particular nature of the small number studied is carefully specified, and if a special point is made of finding whether it embodies the main features of groups that form and function in natural settings.

With this aim in mind, one of our first tasks becomes that of extracting some minimum essential features of *actual* small groups. If we succeed in extracting these essential characteristics of actual small groups, the problems and hypotheses formulated are likely to have relevance and validity for the subject matter in which we are interested. If hypotheses are extracted from the actual run-of-things, they are likely to be testable ones. With this approach, we will not be in the position of justifying our hypotheses and concepts with some such statement as, "A small group is what the research man is studying and the concepts used are defined by the operations performed." We have seen some cases in which public opinion did not turn out to be what the pollsters were presumably

measuring. In the present amorphous state of our understanding of the dynamics of group functioning, it may pay us in the long run if we counterbalance our concern over formal aspects of our procedures with just a little more concern for the content of the subject matter.

Anyone who surveys findings on informally or spontaneously formed small groups cannot help noticing certain essential features common to them all. On the basis of a survey of informally formed groups, the following features seem to appear time and again:

1. As noted earlier, one or more *motives are common* for all members of the group. Further, whatever common motive(s) might have been initially conducive to interaction among individual members, once a group structure starts to take shape, concerns for belongingness, improvement of status, and the like are generated, accompanied by new expectations and goals. Henceforth, other previously existing motives of the individual member function as affected and as modified by these emergent motives generated as a function of group membership.

2. All of these small groups have a *structure* of their own which is more or less lasting. One testable index of group structure is the feasibility of placement of individual members in hierarchical arrangement along one or more dimensions—in short, in terms of some sort of established reciprocities. Status is such a dimension; popularity is another. Of course, the group structure is not immutable. It fluctuates with important changes in group activities and goals. However, groups tend to specialize in certain lines of activities. Hence, stabilization of leadership does not take place on the basis of unrelated tasks which are unimportant in the scheme of things of the group.

3. Another property of such informally organized small groups is a *set of norms* which is standardized, at least concerning matters with which the group is preoccupied. This set of norms is not a momentary affair. Although norms are not static, they do not change merely with the whims of individual members, not even of the leader.

Certain points stand out from the above considerations if research concentration on small groups aims at generalizations relevant to the formation and functioning of actual groups. The hierarchical group structure and set of norms which are more or less lasting in the life history of any group should be included in our definition of the concept of small groups. For actual groups are not just *transitory* structures. The inclusion of these points in our conception of groups should lead to studying the interaction process of individuals, not in one situation, but in various situations which embody common goals over a time span. Observing the interaction process longitudinally over an appropriate time

span will make possible the step-by-step study of the process of group formation, the stabilization of group structure and of social norms, with all the attendant consequences in terms of expectations in day-to-day dealings of individual members.

V

Methodologically, this orientation means immersing ourselves first in the wealth of literature on small groups accumulated during the last several decades by sociologists, anthropologists, and other social scientists. Such surveys are worth our time in spite of the fact that many of the studies may not be stated in clear-cut concepts, they may have serious defects in the collection of data, and they may reach unwarranted generalizations. If our survey will enable us to note certain *recurrences* in group processes, then problems formulated and hypotheses stated are likely to have greater relevance to the actualities with which we are concerned.

Group processes reported by sociologists, anthropologists, and historians cannot be altogether different from those with which psychologists are concerned. In fact, findings obtained by the use of given units at one *level of analysis* can serve as one of the most useful checks for validity of findings on the same topic obtained by units at another level of analysis.

I can illustrate the usefulness of this approach best from work with which I am more familiar. The problem of the study dealing with the rise of group norms in an unstructured, ambiguous, ill-defined situation was suggested especially through reading Thrasher's book on gangs, Durkheim's *Elementary Forms of Religion*, and literature on the rise of slogans.⁸ The autokinetic effect was utilized for this purpose because it affords *one* experimental laboratory situation which is unstructured, vague, or fluid within limits.

Another illustration is the more recent experimental study of status relations in informal groups carried out at the University of Oklahoma.⁹ The problem of this study, which ascertained the expectations of the high-status, middle-status, and low-status members of small groups in terms of judgmental indices, was directly suggested by the studies of Clifford Shaw, William F. Whyte, and others who reported extensively the effects of established reciprocities or roles on the expectations of relative

⁸ M. Sherif, "A Study of Some Social Factors in Perception," *Archives of Psychology*, No. 187, 1935; *The Psychology of Social Norms* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1936).

⁹ O. J. Harvey, "An Experimental Approach to the Study of Status Relations in Informal Groups," *American Sociological Review*, 18: 357-67, 1953.

excellence of group members in various activities. Especially suggestive was Whyte's finding that expectations for performance in a given activity within the group, in this case bowling, were stabilized in line with relative statuses of group members, in spite of the fact that some low-status members exhibited high skill in the task when they played against individuals outside their own group.¹⁰

VI

In rounding out this discussion with the point with which it started, we will consider briefly a crucial point which is taken too much for granted and hence its implications are glossed over on the whole. This crucial point is that small groups are not self-contained, closed systems, especially in the highly industrialized and highly differentiated societies of today.

Without a historic perspective, it is almost impossible to comprehend why the particular claims of two contending groups on a controversial issue are what they are today. We often take too much for granted, the so many hours that make a day's work, the pay rates of so many cents an hour, and increased rates beyond the regular work period. Concepts of what constitutes a day's work, the pay rates that loom in bargaining and disputes are in terms of more or less established *reference scales* that prevail for each of the contending parties on these issues at the time. And these reference scales are products of developments in previous disputes, bargains, and agreements. In dealing with small groups, we shall gain in perspective if the reference scales that prevail therein for standards, rates, and goals in various phases of activities are consistently introduced in the context of the general setting of which they are a part, and if existing reference scales are related at least to their immediate antecedents.

Prevailing reference scales are not fixed entities. Changed relationships between the groups in question bring fluctuations in the general process of norm formation within the group, i.e., changes in its reference scale.

One of the important factors coming from the sociocultural setting which at times produces profound changes in the reference scales and interpersonal relations within small groups is the impact of changing technology. Studies reported by Kolb and Brunner,¹¹ Lang,¹² and others

¹⁰ W. F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1943).

¹¹ J. H. Kolb and E. de S. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society, Its Organization and Change* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1935).

¹² O. Lang, *Chinese Family and Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946).

give impressive examples of changed attitudes within the family structure with changed technology. More recent studies, such as those by W. F. Cottrell of an isolated desert town which faced "death by dieselization" and Sayles on technological change and union participation, show changing group relations and in-group formation with technological innovations.¹³ Our study of five Turkish villages shows how differential contact with modern technology brings about different standardizations for the perception and judgment of time and space localization and standards of wealth for different groups.¹⁴ Pulling together all such differential standardizations of various groups under a generalized theory of reference scales may prove to be one of the major developments in social psychology.

Finally, I will mention briefly some further implications of the fact that in modern life small groups are not self-contained, closed systems and that an individual is a member or participant in some capacity in various groups at the same time. Besides being a member of a family, an individual in contemporary societies is usually a member of a professional group or work group, a chamber of commerce or union, a church in some neighborhood, a club, friendship groups of various sorts, and so on. No amount of concentration on the interaction processes within a single group will give us a completed and true picture of behavior of individual members, even within the confines of the particular group in question. Because of the existence of various groups to which the individual relates himself in various degrees and capacities, analysis of social behavior, not merely in terms of externally observed membership in a single group, but in terms of *reference groups* is proving to be highly effective. In actual research practice, this means first ascertaining the relative significance of the relatedness the individual perceives in relation to various groups to which he belongs or aspires to belong. Once this is ascertained, it will be much easier to find out, even to predict, the behavior of group members as they interact within various groups. It will be easier to understand the member's compliance with group pressures, either with inner acceptance or without inner acceptance. Compliance with group demands or norms need not always imply inner acceptance, as Festinger recently pointed out.¹⁵

¹³ W. F. Cottrell, "Death by Dieselization: A Case Study in the Reaction to Technological Change," *American Sociological Review*, 10:356-65, 1951; L. R. Sayles, "A Case Study of Union Participation and Technological Change," *Human Organization*, 11:5-15, 1952.

¹⁴ M. Sherif, "The Effects of Technology," Chap. 15, *An Outline of Social Psychology* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948).

¹⁵ L. Festinger, "An Analysis of Compliant Behavior," Chap. 10, *Group Relations at the Crossroads* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953). Edited by M. Sherif and M. O. Wilson.

Such an approach will enable us to handle cases of those individuals who, without being actual members of a given group by external criteria, try to regulate their tastes, strivings for belongingness, and status in relation to some other group higher in the social organization.

It is not an infrequent occurrence nowadays that individuals participating in discussions in the same room around a table may be perceiving the situation, and hence directing their utterances, not so much in terms of the professed objective at hand, as in terms of factors that lie outside the immediate situation. These outside influences may be the individual's reference group, or a source of authority to which the participant is related in some capacity. In analyzing such cases, we have no choice but to bring in these out-of-the-immediate-situation influences.

In addition to whatever immediate practical concern the study of small groups may involve and in addition to whatever contribution it may make to the specific topic at hand, if the study of small groups has the objective of attaining generalizations concerning the functioning of actual groups as they exist, a small group cannot be studied as a self-contained, closed system. It has to be studied with specific reference to the material and nonmaterial culture of which it is a part and in relation to other groups which affect the experience and behavior of the individual member.

A SOCIOLOGICAL-PSYCHIATRIC CASE STUDY OF SCHIZOPHRENIA

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This paper illustrates a sociological-psychiatric case method of analyzing the relationship between the social environment and mental illness. It was developed in an interdisciplinary study of social stratification and psychiatric disorders in the New Haven community.¹ The first phase of the research consisted of a census of all persons in metropolitan New Haven who were under psychiatric treatment on December 1, 1950. The results revealed that social class, religion, and ethnicity are correlated with the prevalence of treated psychiatric disorders.² In the second stage of the project sociological and psychiatric method and theory were combined in following up the census findings through a series of case studies.³ This paper is concerned exclusively with certain aspects of the second stage.

Conceptual formulations. In the study of human behavior the dichotomy of "individual" and "social environment" has been used as a distinction of convenience in the traditional division of labor between such disciplines as psychiatry and psychology on the one hand and sociology and anthropology on the other. Theoretically, the conceptualization of the two as representing extremes on a continuum has been accepted by both social scientists and psychiatrists. In fact, over the years, keen observers of human behavior such as Cooley, Mead, Thomas,

¹ This project is aided by USPHS Mental Health Act Grant MH 263: "Relationship of Psychiatric Disorders to Social Structure," A. B. Hollingshead and F. C. Redlich, principal investigators.

² A. B. Hollingshead and F. C. Redlich, "Social Stratification and Schizophrenia," *American Sociological Review*, 19: 302-06, June 1954; J. K. Myers and L. Schaffer, "Social Stratification and Psychiatric Practice," *American Sociological Review*, 19: 307-10, June 1954; F. C. Redlich, A. B. Hollingshead, et al., "Social Structure and Psychiatric Disorders," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 109: 729-34, April 1953; B. H. Roberts and J. K. Myers, "Religion, National Origin, Immigration and Mental Illness," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 110: 759-64.

³ Examples of other studies which have utilized the case approach in analyzing the relationship between the social environment and mental disorders are: N. W. Ackerman and M. Jahoda, *Anti-Semitism and Emotional Disorder: A Psychoanalytic Interpretation* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950); T. W. Adorno and others, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950); R. E. L. Faris, "Reflections of Social Disorganization in the Behavior of a Schizophrenic Patient," *American Journal of Sociology*, 50: 131-41; A. Kardiner and L. Ovesey, *The Mark of Oppression, A Psychosocial Study of the American Negro* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1951); see also J. Dollard, *The Criteria for the Life History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935), for an excellent account of the use of life histories in research.

Freud, Horney, Fromm, Kardiner, and Sullivan have developed important theories and concepts concerning the relationship of personality and the sociocultural environment.

The authors of this paper feel that an important task at present is to determine to what extent these theoretical conceptions have a valid empirical basis. Thus far, the substantiation of theory has been limited largely to clinical observations. Therefore, it is our purpose to develop a more systematic method of investigation. Specifically, we are interested in studying groups, as well as individuals, and in controlling for certain crucial social and psychological variables. Furthermore, we hope to generalize from our data, rather than impose any one theoretical scheme upon them.

Method of analysis. In order to delimit aspects of the social environment for the purpose of comparing social variables, two groups of patients in different social classes in an American urban setting were studied. Our design was a four-cell table, split one way into two social classes and the other into two diagnostic groups. We selected for detailed study 50 patients diagnosed psychoneurotic or schizophrenic, who were between 25 and 40 years of age and belonged to two nonadjacent social classes. The class typing was carried out according to a five-class system developed by Hollingshead.⁴ The patients in the case study belong to Classes III and V, roughly the lower-middle and lower classes.

In constructing a schedule for the case study, our first step was to outline areas of inquiry related to mental illness and the social system. These areas were psychopathological history, physical illness, aggression, dependency, dominance, submission, social identification, sexual relations, attitude toward psychiatry, family dynamics, religion, ethnicity, recreation, occupation, housing, social class, and social mobility. Specific questions relating to these areas were compiled into a 129-page schedule. The data for the schedule were obtained in five or more interviews with the patient, his family, and his therapist.

These data were analyzed in two ways. First, group comparisons were made on specific areas and items between our basic cells. For example, the symptomatology of Class III and Class V psychoneurotics was compared. We also determined whether or not there were social class differences in the relationships between such factors as recreation, ethnicity, family dynamics, and mental illness. The second form of analysis, which is reported in detail here, is a longitudinal study of developmental factors operative in each individual case as well as in the groups. Through this

⁴ Hollingshead, Redlich, *et al.*, *op. cit.*

method we hoped to learn more about the intricate relationships between the social environment and individual dynamics and to explore correlations between social and psychiatric crises. It is particularly this latter point that is the center of our focus, as we believe that the crisis represents a time when covert pressures and supports become more discernible as they are displaced and shattered.

In this longitudinal survey the data are divided into two parts for purposes of presentation here. The first, the social history and analysis, deals with the social factors which seem to be related to the mental breakdown and how the individual selects from his social environment mental symptoms which express his turmoil. The second section, described as psychiatric history and analysis, includes data dealing with psychiatric and medical difficulties and also the intimate personal relations which have been largely the province of the psychiatrist.

Social history and analysis. To illustrate the method of analysis, we shall present one case in our series, Mrs. L., a 29-year-old Class III schizophrenic who was the youngest in a family of seven girls. Her parents were first-generation, Roman Catholic Poles. Her father, an unskilled laborer, and mother were content with their lower-class lot; but the daughters, in the American fashion, wanted to better their position. When the patient started school, she had difficulty with English, since Polish had always been spoken at home. As she grew older, she became increasingly ashamed of everything that was Polish. Her oldest sister, a nurse, encouraged her to continue her education, but she was unable to go to teachers' college as she had hoped because the family could not afford it. As a second choice she accepted nurse's training. Her next disappointment came when she was refused admission to a Protestant hospital because of her mediocre high school grades. Nevertheless, she was glad to enter a Catholic hospital, as it permitted her to leave her home in a run-down Polish neighborhood.

Six months after completing her training she enlisted in the army as a commissioned nurse. In a hospital she started to date an officer who had recently been decorated after returning from overseas. Prior to the war he had graduated from a Southern teachers' college and had worked as an athletic coach and school teacher. At the time she shared his expectation that after the war he would become an athletic coach in an Ivy League college. The fact that he was a second-generation Italian was not of any importance in the army. It was important to her parents, however, who opposed their marriage on ethnic grounds. His family, in turn, were unhappy about accepting a Polish daughter-in-law.

For a while after their discharge from the service the patient and her husband were forced to live with her parents in the old neighborhood due to the housing shortage. As a civilian, her husband did not seem as glamorous to her. Instead of an officer and a gentleman, he appeared to her to be merely another Italian who had attended a state teachers' college instead of a university. Furthermore, when he was unable to become an athletic coach, he passed over the chance of a very small salary as a school teacher and bought a bar in a deteriorating section of the city. This business did well, so that within three years they were able to buy an expensive new home in a middle-class neighborhood. To her surprise, this turned out to be a neighborhood of predominantly Jewish families, toward whom the patient had little but negative feelings. Rather than develop friendships here she kept to herself.

The analysis of this material indicates that the patient has been attempting to get away from her Polish background as part of a general upward mobility striving. Her first serious frustration occurred when she could not proceed with college education and then was not admitted to a Protestant hospital for nurse's training. At this time, however, she was able to separate herself from immediate contact with her family and this continued during the war. Her marriage at first appeared to be a successful gain, but when she returned to her family and the community, her estimation of her husband's status dropped rapidly. For a time she was forced to remain in the despised physical environment of her home. When she and her husband did succeed in establishing themselves in an acceptable physical setting, this turned out to be a step backwards. Finally, she could not make the effort to establish new social contacts or join middle-class organizations which would have been helpful in establishing her position. In sum, her mobility aspirations have been blocked on all sides each time she has been close to success. This was the situation at the time of the onset of her mental illness.

Psychiatric history and analysis. The patient's father was the dominant person in the family. In turn, the mother and older sisters dominated the patient, who accepted their control without any sign of rebellion. As the youngest child, however, she was protected and favored, particularly by her father. During the first five years of the patient's life, she had some minor difficulty with nightmares. In elementary and high school she made shy and meek contacts with her peer groups, but formed no close friendships. In the high school period the first manifestation of difficulty in the sexual area appeared. She was disturbed by the onset of her menses, which had been inadequately explained. She would avoid

sexual discussions and disliked hearing dirty jokes. Her mother opposed dating on the basis of her Polish culture, and the patient complied with her wishes.

In nursing school her personal relationships continued to be removed. Sex became more of a difficulty, as there was increased frankness in this group with regard to discussion of this subject. At the time, she developed a distant infatuation for a doctor on the staff. She believed that he felt the same way toward her, but actually there is some question as to whether they ever talked to one another. There then followed her army career. During her engagement her fiancé attempted to make a sexual advance, but she fled in a panicky state. After marriage, the patient was frigid in her sexual feelings. She became pregnant accidentally and was permanently tied into the marriage and the responsibilities of motherhood quite against her conscious will.

The first evidence of a disturbance of her psychological equilibrium came after her first pregnancy when she began to display her resentment against her husband and his Italian family's customary intervention in her home. This was the first time she seemed to stand up for her own rights. At this same time, she was severely disturbed by a change that took place in her father. For years he had been fighting a chronic chest illness of a serious nature. She had always admired his strength and the manner in which he disregarded his illness and continued to work. Now his physical appearance began to show the state of his deterioration. The following year she became pregnant again but had a miscarriage. When she became pregnant for the third time, she began to show signs of extreme jealousy, accusing her husband of showing an improbable interest in a woman in the neighborhood.

After the birth of her child, she became very demanding of sexual activity. She accused her husband of being unfaithful and of gambling, although there was no basis for these suspicions. She then developed the delusion that she was actually married to the doctor whom she had loved while in nurse's training. She believed she had borne his child and designated a boy who was, in reality, her sister's son. When she tried to leave her home in her nightdress to meet the doctor, she was brought to the mental hospital.

Convergence of analyses. These events reveal certain trends. The patient was dominated all of her early life by her sisters and the strong figure of her father. Much of her activity, ambition, and education was patterned in the manner of a passive imitation of her sibling's activities and aspirations. From childhood, she had not been able to establish friendships and participate in social activities with any degree of involvement. From the psychiatric view, she has a lifelong pattern of poor

object relations. Her sexual problems became more apparent as she passed puberty. She was carried into adult sexuality and marriage upon the basis of social convention and requirement, rather than any sexual strivings. In marriage she was not able to obtain any degree of sexual satisfaction. It can be said that she never reached the capacity for adult heterosexuality. In her marriage she accepted the dominance of her husband without expressing any resentment, just as she had always repressed the expression of her feelings.

All of these trends reached a climax shortly before the onset of her psychosis. Her isolation from object relations was heightened as she moved away from her family group into a class of society in which there was no easy contact. Her psychobiological incapacity for a love relationship and maternal role became more of a burden as she had more children. Her father's physical deterioration undermined one of her fundamental supports. The interference of her husband's family, forcing upon her Italian cultural values for which she had great disdain, increased her resentment. Finally, the breaking point appeared at the time of her third pregnancy when her personal difficulties and social aspirations were frustrated on all sides.

In the symptomatology of the psychosis the social and psychological forces are brought into clear display. During her third pregnancy her sexuality took a bizarre turn as she began to express her jealousy of her husband's interest in other women. Her aggressive feelings against her husband came to the surface. In concepts of psychopathology the jealous accusation is understood as a symptom of her own regressing sexuality.

In restoring her slipping contact with reality she constructed a very interesting delusional idea which contained the core of her biological and social strivings. She believed that she had been married to the doctor, the ideal object of her social ambition, and that she had borne his love child, which represents the fruition of her heterosexual aspirations. In her psychosis she was destructive, assaultive, and openly seductive toward the doctor who was treating her. As the peak of the psychosis subsided, she drew her aggression back within herself, returned to her usual social behavior, and was merely left with a fervent desire to divorce her Italian husband. This was the last remnant of the violent resentment which once again was pushed behind her impassive façade.

Conclusions. The sociological-psychiatric investigation of this case, with its focus on the social environment as well as on the individual, has led to a greater understanding of the patient's symptomatology and the factors surrounding the onset of her illness than would be possible using either traditional psychiatric or sociological methods. It was seen how

both social and psychodynamic trends developed, reaching a point of frustration at the time of the onset of her illness, and how she utilized aspects of her social environment to express the symptoms of her internal conflict. At the present stage of our study it appears that there is a similar situation in the majority of the cases in our series with a differing constellation of social factors in the two social classes. It is hoped that this method of analysis will provide an adequate means for the documentation of the complex circumstances surrounding mental illness and lead us toward a further development of conceptual formulations.

COMMUNITY FACTORS IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY*

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The objective of this study is to attempt to determine if there are distinctive factors in a community that make for certain ecological areas of the community to be more conducive to juvenile delinquent acts than other areas. If so, how can these be brought under control to preclude juvenile delinquent act temptations? What areas with what set of factors are likely to become situation areas for delinquent offenses?

The conceptual frame of reference for the study is that of Durkheim, who assumed that crime is the product of a society and that a society has the crime it produces out of its structure and functioning. The Barnes and Teeters' concept of the "crime situation"¹ is applied. The "crime situation" is conceptualized as a condition in the community that affords potentialities for the commitment of a given criminal act provided an individual who is motivated or inclined to commit the given act comes into contact with this condition. The above-mentioned concepts relative to criminal behavior might very well be applicable to juvenile delinquency by assuming that the kind of juvenile delinquency that exists is produced by the community. Also it may be assumed in such connection that in a community there are areas of concentration of acts of juvenile delinquency. Such concentrations of juvenile acts in a given area may be taken to imply that this area in the community forms part of a "juvenile delinquency situation." It is assumed that by studying these areas in comparison with the nondelinquent area, some community factors may be discovered that are favorably associated in the area with the commitment of given acts of juvenile delinquency. Such results would be helpful in the control and prevention of juvenile delinquency by applying treatment and control to the community. The focus, as may be seen, is on the group factor rather than the personal factor. That does not minimize the existence of the personal factor or the need of recognizing its importance, but it is believed by the investigator that just as much attention needs to be given the community factors.

The possibility of determining what community factors must be present for a juvenile delinquent act to be committed would make possible the prediction of an area's becoming a part of a juvenile delinquent situation.

*Study partially financed grant from Carnegie Foundation for Advancement of Teaching.

¹ Harry E. Barnes and Negley K. Teeters, *New Horizons in Criminology* (Second Edition, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951), p. 120.

The method of study embraces the ecological distribution of juvenile delinquent acts in two cities in North Carolina, which will be designated here as X and Y, by constructing spot maps from the juvenile court files. After areas of juvenile delinquency have been determined, field observation study is made of the areas in comparison with nondelinquent areas to determine what factors are present that make possible the commitment of the type of juvenile delinquency in this area.

Areas and types of juvenile delinquent behavior. The areas of juvenile delinquent behavior were determined by the distribution of committed acts in X during the years 1943-49 and in Y during the years 1948-51. X and Y could not be compared for the same period because the records at Y prior to 1948 were not suitable for adequate study.

The criterion used for a juvenile delinquent act is an act of a juvenile person which is reported to the court, with the court taking such official action as giving a reprimand, committing to a training school, placing in detention, referring person to civil or criminal court, placing in a foster home. Dismissed cases where the child is turned over to parents without any official restrictions are not included as delinquent.

In both cities the chief offenses are larceny, or theft, followed in number by cases revolving around truancy. Occasionally, there arise instances of runaways, assaults, and abuse to property.

The distribution of juvenile delinquent acts in X tends to be more concentrated than is the case in Y. In Y it tends to be more thinly dispersed. Area 1 in X is the principal business district and its fringe area. Thirty-three per cent of the juvenile delinquent acts committed during 1943-49 were committed in this area. In Y, Area 10, a residential area chiefly, is the area of high concentration. It, however, contains 11 per cent of the acts for 1948-51. Unlike X, Y does not, for the period for which data are available, have a high concentration of juvenile delinquency in the business district. There is delinquency in this district, but it tends to disperse itself in disconnected sectors that are relatively small. Y will need a follow-up study of this problem for two or three years before one can be sure that the short period of study may actually represent the true distribution.

X tends to conform to the ideal-typical and concentric-ecological pattern of the city developed by Dr. Ernest W. Burgess, while Y at this stage of the study tends to conform more to the sector and radial theory of Homer Hoyt. The Burgess concentric theory is that social pathological situations as crime, delinquency, slums, disease, etc., tend to concentrate near the center of the city and decrease gradually toward the periphery.

The Hoyt sector or radial theory holds that such characteristics tend to develop in sectors or develop radially along main traffic thoroughfares as railroads, highways, etc.

Juvenile delinquency situations. In the business areas in both cities, larceny was the principal juvenile offense. Stores in this area that had the highest frequency of thefts by juveniles were those dealing in, and displaying on open counters, small articles, as cosmetics, candy, toys, small clothing articles, trinkets, and jewelry. Such stores generally were large department stores, drug stores, and 5-and-10-cent stores. From observation the following situations were found: goods displayed on open counters, clerks attending more than one counter or one clerk attending a very long counter, small articles displayed openly at customer's side of the counter, no floorwalker or one floorwalker having to cover the entire store. These situations afford the opportunity to steal for an individual who may have the motive to act in such a situation.

The managers of these stores were interviewed with regard to such situations and their tendency to be conscious of situations made-to-order for theft. In all instances the manager agreed that displaying goods on open counters, insufficient clerks at counters, lack of sufficient floorwalkers did in their own opinion contribute to the cases of theft that occurred in their establishments.

In the areas where truancy occurred it was found that the children came from homes where both parents worked and that the work schedules of the parents called for them to leave home before the child, or children, left for school and to return some time after school had closed for the day. Such situations make it possible for the child to remain out of school without parental knowledge. Another factor noted in truancy cases involved those instances where the child had developed an attitude of hostility toward his teacher or the school situation.

Another instance of a high rate of delinquency in X occurs in an area of persons of low socioeconomic level where white and Negro live in an area that is in transition apparently from a white to a Negro community. Intergroup hostilities may be in effect here and are reflected in the behavior of the children. Other related factors in many areas are lack of play space in the congested areas, poor street lighting, lack of adequate police supervision, and young children who loiter and play in business and shopping areas (unattended by adults).

Preventive measures. In view of the facts that the highest rates of juvenile delinquency in the two cities studied are for larceny and truancy and that certain situations exist that afford opportunity for the commitment of such offenses, the following preventive measures are suggested for controlling or eliminating the temptations.

1. Stores should use closed glass cases for the display of goods; there should be more clerks at counters frequented most and at very long counters; small articles that may be easily taken and concealed, if displayed openly, should be out of reach from customers' side of counter; and large stores should utilize floorwalkers. Some managers have reported that they have adopted these measures and have noted that they had less trouble. A leading department store in Y has recently installed glass-enclosed display counters for all goods easily taken, and the manager reports that since this installation of closed display counters, no thefts have been committed. One of the leading department stores in X reported having altered their manner of displaying goods where possible and are using floorwalkers. These measures cut down the number of thefts. If merchants recognize the temptations that they offer by their manner of displaying or exposing goods and consider it part of their responsibility to prevent delinquent opportunities, more situations can be brought under control. If thefts from stores by juveniles are to be taken as something that is bound to occur and to be figured as part of the expected loss, as one drug store of Y does, situations for delinquency of this type in businesses will continue to exist.

2. An attendance teacher or a social worker connected with the school system and a careful daily checkup of absences followed by contacts with parents of children reported absent serve to prevent children of working parents from being tempted to stay away from school and thus become susceptible to delinquency.

3. Areas or neighborhoods that are in the process of transition, particularly those that involve racial groups of lower socioeconomic levels, should be scrutinized by the recreation department, social workers, police, and all agencies concerned with controlling human relations to check tensions, hostilities, and any other difficulties that may arise.

4. Congested areas that afford limited play space for children need to be considered as problem areas and subject to the provision of supervised children's activities in the neighborhood.

5. Areas that are not well lighted need to be provided with adequate lighting.

6. Loitering in business areas, around businesses and around taverns, poolrooms, and all such places by children needs to be discouraged.

7. The employment of school-age children during school time needs to be strongly scrutinized and regulated according to the existing laws governing such employment.

8. Further extensive and intensive studies need to be made in these communities in order to gain further insight into the nature of delinquency situations.

SOCIOLOGY AS AN AREA OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS RESEARCH

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Sociology, according to Webster, is the science which investigates the laws that regulate human society in all its grades; the science which treats of the general structure of society, the laws of its development, and the progress of civilization. To paraphrase, sociology may be construed as the study and analysis of human relationships.

Inasmuch as a knowledge of human relationships is necessary to formulate a workable program for the improvement of human efficiency, the study of sociology is a basic requirement for effective industrial relations research. A practical justification for industrial relations research, as such, is that by increasing production through improved human efficiency in terms of improved morale, less industrial strife, and greater feeling of belonging, it pays for itself in dollars and cents. It contributes not only to the worker's efficiency but also to his personality growth as a result of his work and hence to his enjoyment of life. It has been only in recent years that the full value of sociological knowledge has been recognized in industrial relations research.

The following areas in industrial relations research are principally sociological in nature: (1) worker adjustment, (2) employee services, (3) industrial unrest, (4) special groups in industry.

1. *Worker adjustment.* Sociologically oriented industrial relations research in this area is concerned with adjusting the worker to his place of work, to the people he works with, to the people he works for.

2. *Employee services.* This field, which was once called welfare work, has been carried on to strengthen the morale of the entire industrial organization. Service functions involve organizations within the plant which are not directly connected with production, but which tend to make personnel, as a group, more able to render effective service. Research looks to ascertaining the employee's desire for such programs, as these require substantial support from the employees if they are to be effective. The researcher may also delve into the questions of whether such activities are economically feasible and whether or not such services actually fulfill the needs they are created to fulfill.

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3. *Industrial unrest.* In this area the industrial relations researcher-sociologist examines what forces in the group tend to foment industrial unrest and what methods are effective in alleviating industrial unrest.

4. *Special groups.* Such groups include minority groups, the aged, women, the physically handicapped. The attitudes of these groups toward other groups in the plant, the attitudes of management toward special groups, the attitudes of labor unions toward special groups, the methods of orienting these groups into the plant, the productivity and safety records of these special groups—all these represent fair game for the sociologist interested in industrial relations research. A special field is that involving the conditions under which members of different ethnic groups work together agreeably in the same factory.

In view of these fields, it may be stated that there is a definite opportunity for the sociologically trained industrial relations researcher, and for sociology, in the field of industrial relations research.

SEX DIFFERENCES AMONG JUVENILE OFFENDERS

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This report deals with a series of comparisons between all boys and all girls against whom complaints were received by the Youth Bureau of the Detroit Police Department in 1952. In all, there were 4,533 youths, of whom 3,451 were boys and 1,082 were girls. For each youth a "history sheet" was made out by a police officer on the basis of interviews with the young people, visits to their homes, and available information on the neighborhoods.

In evaluating the data to be cited in the course of this article, the reader will need some background information as to the arrangements for dealing with youth offenders in Detroit. Since 1946, all boys between the ages of ten and seventeen have come under the jurisdiction of a special division in the Police Department, which was first called the Crime Prevention Bureau and later the Youth Bureau. As a part of standard operating procedure, each boy against whom a complaint was received was interviewed by a Crime Prevention Bureau officer. His home was visited, and in many cases contact was made with the school and other agencies. The facts collected in this manner were recorded on "history sheets" in a form suitable for coding and punching on IBM cards. The vast mass of data piled up in this way has been made available for research purposes, and a series of studies based on them have appeared in scholarly journals.¹

The Crime Prevention Bureau, whose jurisdiction had been limited, was eventually merged into a Youth Bureau, which included a detachment of policewomen. The enlarged division was given authority to deal with all boys under seventeen and all girls against whom behavior complaints were received. (The Women's Division kept those cases which originated as "missing" complaints.) In 1951 the "history sheets"

¹ A few recent titles are: William W. Wattenberg and James Balistreri, "Automobile Theft: A 'Favored Group' Delinquency," *American Journal of Sociology*, 57: 575-79, 1952. William W. Wattenberg, "Delinquency during Summer Months," *Journal of Educational Research*, 42: 253-67, 1948. William W. Wattenberg, David Faigenbaum, John Franklin, and James J. Balistreri, "Factors Linked to Father's Age among Delinquent Boys," *Psychological Service Center Journal*, 2: 167-81, 1950. William W. Wattenberg and James J. Balistreri, "Gang Membership and Juvenile Misconduct," *American Sociological Review*, 15: 744-52, 1950.

were revised to apply equally to boys and girls. The following year, 1952, was the first full calendar year for which data were collected for both sexes.

The information secured on the history sheets has some unique advantages and some clear limitations. For one thing, the youngsters concerned are brought to attention soon after the offense and therefore represent a truer cross section of all juvenile offenders than do juvenile court cases, which are a residue after various selective forces have reduced the population. Neither the girls nor the boys involved in the history sheet records are all delinquents in either a legal or a psychological sense of that much-abused term. They are merely youngsters who committed some deed as a result of which the police were called. Later, approximately one quarter of the boys and one fifth of the girls eventually had official complaints opened in juvenile court.

A limitation of the data is that many of them represent the judgment of police officers who have had little training in scientific niceties. For this reason, although the officers may be less influenced by white-collar biases, some may reflect unsophisticated ratings. This is less true of the ratings made by the policewomen, most of whom are college graduates with advanced training in social work. However, the validity of the data has been tested in previously reported studies and has been proved to possess strong predictive value. This would indicate that comparisons based on them are worthy of study.²

The procedure used in the present study was simple. For every item of information recorded on the "history sheets" a tabulation was prepared comparing the boys and the girls. Each tabulation was tested for statistical significance of differences by the chi-square technique. In all, 68 tables were prepared. Of these, only 2 failed of reliability in the sense that the null hypothesis could not be rejected at the 1 per cent level of confidence. Interestingly, these 2 inconclusive tables dealt with (1) the number of brothers and (2) the number of sisters. In every other instance the 1 per cent level of confidence prevailed. Many of the chi-square totals were exceptionally high, permitting rejection of the null hypothesis with a level of confidence at a one-in-a-million basis or better. For what curiosity value it may have, the record chi-square total appeared for the table comparing offense groupings. With twelve degrees of freedom, the chi-square total was 2,189.11. There can be no doubt that among delinquents the differences between the sexes are strong indeed.

² The authors wish to express appreciation to the police officers and policewomen of the Youth Bureau of the Detroit Police Department for their assistance in connection with this study.

FINDINGS

The statistically significant differences will be reported in clusters having elements in common, as indicated by side headings.

Offenses charged. In this respect, the present study confirms previous researches. The girls showed disproportionately high percentages charged with incorrigibility, sex offenses, and being truants from home. The boys were high in burglary, assaults, and malicious destruction of property.

A further set of comparisons was made for three restricted age levels: (1) twelve or under, (2) thirteen and fourteen, and (3) fifteen and sixteen. The offense pattern for girls twelve or under was closer to that of the boys than at any later age. For the young girls, larceny (mostly shoplifting) was the most frequent offense. Involved were 44 per cent of the youngest age group, but only 13 per cent at thirteen and fourteen. Among the thirteen- and fourteen-year-old girls the most frequent charge was incorrigibility; among the fifteen- and sixteen-year-olds sex violations.

Community facilities. The next most striking contrast between the sexes had to do with community facilities, especially those for recreation. For instance, there are boys' clubs in the city but few girls' clubs. Thus, 64 per cent of all boys used a recreation facility for boys located within five blocks of their homes; another 25 per cent did not use a facility that was within the same distance. For girls, 53 per cent had a recreational facility within five blocks of their homes, but only 20 per cent used it. This situation was reflected in the fact that, although 16 per cent of all boys in trouble with the police belonged to a Y, a scout troop, or a boys' club, only 5 per cent of all girls were in equivalent groups. Girls relied more upon school organizations; 8 per cent had such affiliations as contrasted to 2 per cent of the boys.

Another differential on the part of the community was in provision of special educational facilities for children with behavior problems. Thus, 12 per cent of the boys but only 5 per cent of the girls were in special classes.

Somewhat counterbalancing these trends was the greater willingness of social service agencies to extend their facilities to girls. A study of dispositions revealed that the cases of 31 per cent of the girls and 15 per cent of the boys had been closed by referring them to a social casework agency of some type. By contrast, in one way or another 53 per cent of the boys and 44 per cent of the girls received attention from an official organization, a court, a probation department, or allied public service.

Recreation patterns. In order of magnitude of differences, the next most glaring differential had to do with recreational patterns. The boys appeared to be an active, excitement-hungry lot. The girls appeared to be less vigorous, more social, and also rather aimless. In this, each group may be reflecting culturally defined role expectations.

At any rate 87 per cent of the boys and only 52 per cent of the girls listed sports and games as favorite pastimes. Dancing attracted 26 per cent of the girls but only 2 per cent of the boys. When asked what type of entertainment they preferred, 26 per cent of the girls but only 5 per cent of the boys failed to give an answer. As might be expected, the boys liked to spend money on shows: 60 per cent, as contrasted with 35 per cent of the girls. The boys, also, were more likely to have recreational equipment comparable to that of their playmates.

Family relations. The higher percentage of broken homes among girl offenders was again confirmed. However, the statistical comparisons brought to light some less obvious differences. In general, there appeared to be for the girls a closer relationship with parents, but the closeness seemed to be more colored by bitter feelings than was true for the boys. By contrast, the boys were more likely to have won a measure of independence, and with it a species of *modus vivendi*. Let us document these three trends, one at a time.

On the matter of broken homes, several tabulations pointed to the same conclusion. For 22 per cent of the girls and 16 per cent of the boys, there was a stepparent in the home. For 35 per cent of the girls and 26 per cent of the boys, no father was in the home at any time. Having no mother at home was the lot of 10 per cent of the girls and 8 per cent of the boys.

On the direct question of marital status of parents, 56 per cent of the boys and 41 per cent of the girls came from intact families. Homes broken by separation or divorce accounted for 39 per cent of the girls and 29 per cent of the boys; homes broken by death, for 18 per cent of the girls and 14 per cent of the boys.

When the question was phrased in terms of with whom the child was living, only 39 per cent of the girls but 47 per cent of the boys were living with both parents. Strikingly, 5 per cent of the girls but not quite 2 per cent of the boys were in boarding homes.

That the broken homes were but a final stage in a general picture of family disintegration is indicated by the fact that 32 per cent of girls and 20 per cent of boys came from homes where marked quarreling was reported. Consumption of alcohol was reported as leading to family discord in 8 per cent of the girls' homes and 4 per cent for the boys.

Despite this greater prevalence of tension the girls maintained more contact with their homes than did the boys. Thus, 41 per cent of the boys but only 11 per cent of the girls escaped more than occasional chores in the operation of the household. Also, for only 21 per cent of the boys but 44 per cent of the girls did parents indicate any marked amount of participation in recreation and other activities.

This combination of rather substantial contact with tense families is made to order for the production of open hostility. Several tables indicate that this is exactly what did happen. Although only 4 per cent of all boys complained that someone at home "picked on" them; 14 per cent of the girls aired that type of complaint. In direct and open expression, 16 per cent of the girls but only 5 per cent of the boys told police officers they disliked their fathers. Hostility aimed at mothers was voiced by 7 per cent of the girls and only 1 per cent of the boys. When there was a stepfather in the home, half the girls but only one fifth of the boys announced he was the subject of a family feud. The traditional stepmother was seen as an enemy by 34 per cent of the girls and 17 per cent of the boys living in homes where fathers had remarried.

The hard feelings apparently were reciprocated. The police officers reported that whereas the boy offender was eventually greeted with forgiveness in 28 per cent of the homes, a similar attitude was extended to only 7 per cent of the girls. Punitive actions and open rejection were the lot of 5 per cent of the boys and 15 per cent of the girls. When the officers rated parental attitudes toward the police efforts, they found that in 9 per cent of the cases the girls' parents were primarily interested in giving an alibi for their own actions; this happened in only 3 per cent of the boys' homes. Clear-cut cooperation of parents was secured for 90 per cent of the boys and 74 per cent of the girls.

Peer group relations. As contrasted with boys, the girls in trouble with the police appeared to be more quarrelsome and less given to group activities. Although they were not so likely to get into open physical combat, they made cutting use of their tongues. Thus, police rated 16 per cent of the girls and 3 per cent of the boys as "quarrelsome." The trend of this finding was verified by the fact that at school, 2 per cent of the boys and 6 per cent of the girls were reported to have bad relationships with their classmates. Rated on the nature of activities in the neighborhood, 26 per cent of the girls and 8 per cent of the boys were classed as "lone wolves." By contrast, 33 per cent of the boys but only 14 per cent of the girls belonged to an identifiable gang or other regular group. This also led to a definite difference in exposure to peer group temptations, for

although 19 per cent of all boys belonged to groups which engaged in organized theft, aggressive assaults, or destruction of property, only 16 per cent of all girls had like affiliations.

Attitudes toward grownups. The poor relationships the girls had with their parents and with other children apparently were part of a general picture. More girls than boys got along poorly with other grownups. The police officers hung the tag "antisocial" on 9 per cent of the girls and only 1 per cent of the boys. At school 14 per cent of the boys but 28 per cent of the girls did not express friendly attitudes toward teachers. Toward adult neighbors a similar situation held true. About 12 per cent of the boys and 27 per cent of the girls failed to get along with their neighbors.

Socioeconomic variables. As far as socioeconomic variables were concerned, the picture was complicated. Running through the tabulations were two contrary, or contradictory, trends. On the one hand there was strong evidence of the concomitants of broken homes where the woman is the breadwinner. More girls than boys came from homes where income was low and where there was no car. Yet, at the opposite end of the socioeconomic scale, possibly reflecting tensions in well-off homes, there were more girls than boys. Put another way, the curves of distribution for socioeconomic variables tended to be flat for the girls and peaked, with a concentration near the average, for the boys.

Here are a few signs of this situation: 6 per cent of the girls but 3 per cent of the boys lived in rooming houses; by contrast, 15 per cent of the girls and 10 per cent of the boys lived in apartments. More girls than boys lived in dwelling units which at one extreme had less than one-third room per occupant, or at the other had more than two rooms per person. Similarly more girls came from homes where the interiors had been rated "unduly meticulous" on the one hand or "slovenly" on the other.

For each youngster, the police rated the neighborhood on a five-point scale ranging from "slum" to "wealthy." Nine per cent of the girls but only 2 per cent of the boys came from above average areas; yet 49 per cent of the girls and 30 per cent of the boys came from below average areas. In 61 per cent of the boys' homes and 52 per cent of the girls', the father was the only person employed. On a very general rating of the family income, some degree of inadequacy was reported for 29 per cent of the boys and 51 per cent of the girls. Using a more objective index, there was no car owned by 46 per cent of the boys' families and by 51 per cent of the girls'. Also, although 20 per cent of the boys lived in neighborhoods where there was a mixture of residential and commercial

land use, 36 per cent of the girls lived in such areas.

Maturity. As indicated earlier, it was expected that, because sex offenses are so frequently charged against girls, maturity would be greater. Two items bore on this point. The percentages of boys in the age levels below twelve were higher than for girls; by contrast, 55 per cent of all boys in trouble fell in the 12-15 age bracket and, for girls, the equivalent range accounted for 65 per cent. On the basis of subjective judgment the officers classed 36 per cent of the boys but only 11 per cent of the girls as preadolescent. More girls were described as "large for age."

Youngster's own finances. Another striking difference between the sexes was the fact that the boys had relatively more fiscal independence. Comparatively few girls had jobs. Thus, 68 per cent of the girls, as contrasted with 51 per cent of the boys reported no earnings. Interestingly, 8 per cent of the boys but less than 1 per cent of the girls turned over any money to their parents. Parents made more girls ask for money, as contrasted with giving it to them as an allowance or as pay for work done. This type of begging arrangement prevailed for 71 per cent of the girls as compared with 63 per cent of the boys.

The sex differentials on work opportunities were large. Thus, 7 per cent of the boys distributed newspapers, but not a single girl was so employed. Laboring jobs were reported for 5 per cent of the boys but only 1 per cent of the girls. Only in the field of clerical jobs and office work did the sexes show equality.

Miscellaneous. There were a number of other items on which the two sexes differed. For the sake of complete reporting, these are summarized below.

1. On a general estimate of intelligence, more boys were classed as "average"; more girls were ranked "above average" and "below average."

2. On a rating of general appearance, more boys were ranked "average"; more girls as "neat and clean" on the one hand and "slovenly" on the other.

3. More girls reported irregular church attendance; more boys were at the extremes of "once a week" and "never." The percentage of Protestants was higher for the girls than for the boys.

4. More girls were getting good grades in school, but more of them nevertheless expressed indifference or active hatred of school. More of them had also quit school.

5. The percentage of nonwhite children was 40 per cent for the girls, and 36 per cent for the boys.

6. More boys than girls were lifelong residents of Detroit.
7. Only 15 per cent of the girls but 33 per cent of the boys lived in racially mixed neighborhoods.

DISCUSSION

Analysis of the statistical findings is complicated by the fact that some of the differences are clearly differences to be found in any comparison of boys and girls. They may have nothing to do with delinquency or juvenile misconduct as such. For other items, some connection with misconduct appears probable. To prove definitely such an association it would be necessary to use control groups obtained by quota-sampling techniques. That procedure has not been possible within the resources of the present study. It is hoped that the findings herein reported will stimulate a replication in some other locality in which analysis of a control group of nondelinquents can be part of the research design.

On the basis of known facts, it would appear that the major differences in the development of misconduct among girls as contrasted with boys can be traced to cultural differences in the ways the sexes are treated. Outstanding in this respect is the fact that sex activity is regarded as more serious for girls than for boys, and that although available evidence indicates that, if anything, boys are actually more active sexually, charges nevertheless are made mainly against girls. Another interesting point is that in our society boys are provided with more in the way of recreational facilities.

The most interesting differentials between the sexes relate to home situations. For girls we have the picture of closer ties to parents, but the closeness gives rise to bitter in-fighting. The psychological dynamics of this situation deserve careful study. Also, broken homes and parental fighting seem to be more significant for girls than for boys. The stronger reaction against stepparents is significant.

Another major factor is the relative weight of the peer group for the two sexes. For boys, gang membership is not only more frequent but also involves more contact with delinquent conduct. In all their relationships with people, the girls appear to be more emotionally disturbed than the boys. Yet, for all these factors, we must not forget that in volume of offenders the boys outnumber the girls more than three to one. If the misconduct of boys seems easier to understand and less involved in complexities, it also is a more common development. Nevertheless, our findings would indicate that the origin of socially disapproved behavior patterns in girls merits more special study than it has yet received.

THE INDIAN IN AFRICA: A PROBLEM FOR SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

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Currently in Africa while the more dramatic events—British-Egyptian relations in Egypt, Malanism in the Union of South Africa, Mau Mau uprisings in Kenya, independence movements in West Africa, the Sudan, and Uganda—command primary attention, there is developing a most significant situation which is being largely ignored by sociologists and others interested in the general problem of social change and the study of plural societies, and the larger problem of society and social interaction, but which is an integral part of these over-all aspects of sociology, as well as containing ramifications of importance for almost all disciplines in the social sciences. This is the question related to the position of the Indian in contemporary Africa, and the problem he raises is certain to grow in importance and influence on the whole pattern of the over-all African situation as events mount to a climax there.

In Africa, all along the East Coast and in the Central area, are settlers from India or their descendants. Being assimilated by neither Africans nor Europeans, they create a special problem that is becoming increasingly serious, added to the already critical tension between the latter two groups. Brought to Africa in the past at the request of and for the convenience of the European settlers, Indians today have come to be something like four times as numerous as the Europeans in this area. In Kenya they outnumber Europeans three to one, in Uganda more than ten to one, in Tanganyika almost five to one; and they have begun to appear in appreciable numbers in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In the Union of South Africa province of Natal they are almost as numerous as Europeans, while their population increases twice as fast. It is recognized by all parties throughout East, Central, and South Africa that the Indian problem is taking on greater proportions and becoming one of increasing concern, especially since it is also recognized that the Indian is indispensable in all the countries where he is found and is in Africa to stay. The purpose of this paper is to present a preliminary statement of the problem of the Indian in Africa and to suggest an approach for its sociological investigation.

The increasing significance of the Indian question in Africa has given rise to apprehension expressed clearly in 1953 in several proposed actions in various parts of Africa. In the Rhodesias the Rhodesia National Affairs Association called for rapid European immigration to stem the

Indian inflow. In Kenya counterattack against Indians showed itself in the form of a campaign by European settlers to encourage Native Africans to set up little village shops and train themselves as artisans, and in the creation of a municipal marketing project for native products to by-pass the Indian traders. At a conference of European settlers in the Belgian Congo, one of the chief themes was the insistence upon banishing the Indian from the Congo and resisting Indian commercial penetration. In Portuguese East Africa India's demand for Portuguese Goa brought into the open Portuguese hostility toward the Indian in Mozambique, while the European and Government attitudes and plans in the Union of South Africa to uproot, resettle, and restrict Indians are well known. At the same time, the Durban riots of December 1948 were indicative of the problem that has reached critical proportions between the Native African and the Indian.

Europeans, except a small liberal minority, are hostile toward the Indians because they feel they are a sort of advance guard of future Indian imperialism, Asians who intend to drive the Europeans out of Africa and take over commercial predominance and at least indirect political control. They show mounting concern at increasing Indian immigration and penetration; they resent the fact that Indians will go and live and work in the remote rural areas, in places rejected by Europeans as too lonely. Others accuse the Indians of double loyalty; they indict them for selling out the continent if they send savings back to India and for buying up Africa if they invest in African real estate.

On the other hand, the Indian suffers from the hostility of the indigenuous Africans who hesitate to ally themselves with the Indians, who they feel exploit them. Again, resentment is directed against them because the Africans see the Indians as job competitors who receive twice as much as the former for similar work. A further irritation is that Indians all through East and Central Africa occupy the intermediate jobs, as yet largely beyond the training and experience of the Africans, but to which the more ambitious Africans are beginning to aspire.

In addition to these two antagonistic elements there is yet another factor that points up the importance of the Indian problem in contemporary Africa: the question of Indian assimilation. It is difficult to assimilate people some of whom worship cows that the rest of the population wants to eat or whose views on purdah are so vastly different from African attitudes. And there is, too, the matter of Indian racial pride. The Indian immigrants belong to an old and proud civilization;

and this race pride has kept them separated, especially from close association with the Native Africans with whom the Indian would be expected to form an alliance if only because of the indignities they suffer mutually on racial grounds.

In view of the foregoing, it would seem that in laying the foundation for research and study a helpful sociological approach would be to place Indians under examination as functioning members in one of the several plural societies of East, Central, or South Africa, and, viewing them thus as a focal point of study around which the selected plural society functions, to analyze (1) their historical and geographical origin and prior occupational and status characteristics; (2) the degrees of social, economic, religious, educational, and political differences among them and how these affect their acceptance and nonacceptance and functioning in the general society; (3) their role in urban and rural settings; (4) factors encouraging or retarding their cultural coalescence into the larger society; (5) the possibilities of their eventual assimilation into the over-all society; (6) the effect of concepts of derogation applied to them and the functions of such derogatory concepts in contemporary society; (7) intergroup and intragroup behavior; (8) majority group stereotypes of the Indian and Indian stereotypes of the majority group; (9) the extent to which Indian status still operates as a restriction in the general society for those who have attained a high level of education and wealth; (10) the efforts made by Indians and non-Indians to overcome hostility toward them; (11) the impact and effect of any government proposals directed toward Indians in particular; (12) the taboos against marriage with indigenous Africans, Europeans, or other non-Indians; (13) Indian-Pakistani relationships and the significance of these relationships as regards non-Indian members of the community; and (14) postwar and post-Indian independence influences affecting the present position of the Indian.

An analysis of these factors should provide a reliable basis for an introductory synthesis of the position of the Indian in Africa with two important ramifications: It should be of use to specialists interested in the over-all problem of intergroup and international relations, while, on the other hand, an analysis of the foregoing factors should facilitate the formulation of helpful suggestions and the development of practical programs applicable in Africa wherever the Indian is said to be creating a problem. It would also provide worth-while insights and possible aids regarding the serious problems growing out of the relationship of the indigenous African and non-African of European descent, especially in

South Africa and East and Central Africa. The research proposed in the problem stated here would be a pioneer piece of work and would also pinpoint in a preliminary way the role and place of the Indian in an Africa in flux that would be of use to sociologists, anthropologists, economists, historians, social psychologists, political scientists, social workers, government administrators, business entrepreneurs, and others with more practical interests in Africa and its developments.

TYPES OF COOPERATIVES

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A cooperative is a group of people organized to meet a human need. Most cooperatives conduct their business according to the following rules of procedure: open membership to all who will cooperate in good faith, with no restrictions regarding race, religion, sex; voluntary membership and voluntary withdrawal of membership and of any invested property; democratic organization with one vote per person, and only one, and no proxy voting; a limited and predetermined interest on capital; net savings are distributed to members on the basis of the amount of purchases of goods through the cooperative unless otherwise voted by the members; distributing of quality goods and services on a cash basis at fair market prices; auditing of accounts regularly; and meetings of members to hear reports, to discuss and vote on policies, and to discuss cooperative principles and practices.¹

Not all cooperatives measure up fully to the rules as set forth in the preceding paragraph, but all strive for decentralized control, for control by the members upward and not from the top down, for control by individual members and not by any form of statism, either fascist or communist.²

In this paper six main types of cooperatives will be briefly described:³ credit unions, consumer cooperatives, producer cooperatives, processing and marketing cooperatives, educational cooperatives, and recreational cooperatives.

1. *Credit unions.* The credit union is a group of people joined together in an association for the purposes of saving money and borrowing from their own pool of savings. The members deposit money in their credit union and receive an income distinctly above that paid on savings accounts in banks, and they borrow money at rates about one half of that charged by most small loan companies. They pay low rental charges

¹ In the main these are the basic rules for operating a cooperative that were developed by the twenty-eight Rochdale Pioneers who opened their famous cooperative store on Toad Lane, Rochdale, England, on the evening of December 21, 1844.

² A cooperative that is controlled by a state is not a cooperative even though the name be retained.

³ A type is used here in the sense of a member of a class possessing one or more distinctive characteristics but otherwise being identified with its class. The basic principles remain much the same in all types, but the fields of human activity in which they are expressed are different. This difference affects the functioning in one or more ways.

for space in which to do business, and their operating charges are low, for a considerable amount of the work is done by volunteers. The accounts of the credit union are regularly audited by state or federal examiners, and the number of failures and of losses has been almost none, even during depression years.

The membership of a given credit union is usually confined to particular groups in a particular city, such as the teachers in a given school system or the workers in a certain industrial plant. The members possess a degree of occupational homogeneity. One of the most important committees is the credit committee whose members decide when and what loans shall be made to members. A great many of the loans are made for providential purposes, for necessities, and for meeting emergency needs. The reputation and character of the borrower are important factors. There is little red tape and great convenience. The control is in the hands of the members.

Credit union experience gives valuable training in cooperation for persons who are planning to become members of a consumer or other type of cooperative. The credit union provides important experience in being responsible for the sound use of other people's money.

A related activity is that of the banking departments of wholesale consumer cooperatives (as in Great Britain) and of the finance associations of regional wholesales (as in the United States). These render banking services to individual cooperative societies and help to give financial backing and stability to these societies.

2. *Consumer cooperatives.* The consumer cooperative is an association of persons engaged in meeting their needs for goods and services of the best quality that they can afford at the lowest cost consistent with fair dealing with all concerned. The usual procedures as first developed by the members of the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers were set forth in the opening paragraph of this paper and were based upon hard experience and common sense. For instance, the emphasis on buying on a cash basis was developed in order that the society might not lose bad accounts, in order to have cash available with which to restock its store, in order to receive discounts in making cash wholesale purchases, and in order to save the expenses of bookkeeping and of collecting credit accounts.

To assist the member of a consumer cooperative or of a farm supply cooperative to pay for his food and other supplies with cash, the credit union fits logically and practically into the picture. The member of a consumer cooperative who also belongs to a credit union (composed of the cooperative's members) may borrow from the credit union and thus have cash to pay for purchases from the cooperative.

a. The consumer cooperative commonly maintains a *food store* including vegetable, bakery, and meat departments. In England and Scotland, for example, these and other services may be conducted in different locations in a city, but in the United States they are provided in one convenient site.⁴

As consumer cooperatives increase in size, the percentage of the membership that attends the business meetings and votes on policies tends to decrease because many members have not learned to think of themselves as a part of a democratic movement. The Rochdale Pioneers aimed to anticipate this weakness by setting aside regularly a definite percentage of the savings for education of the membership in cooperative practices and principles. To the extent that this rule is put into operation, democratic practices are conserved.

b. Consumer cooperatives may be organized to sell *clothing, shoes, hats, dry goods, drugs, furniture*, and many other goods that are manufactured in standard styles, or to operate restaurants. Dry goods stores, department stores, and general merchandise stores have proved feasible for cooperative operations.⁵

Widespread is the belief that the consumer cooperative is the most important of all, for what people consume or desire to consume constitute human wants and, hence, demand, which in turn regulates the production of goods and services. Consumers include all mankind and represent the interests of all. Cooperative consumers rank relatively high in expressing cooperative principles.

c. Basically the *farm supply cooperative* is a consumer cooperative. It is an organization of farmers, banded together to furnish themselves with supplies needed on the farm, such as feed for live stock, seed for planting the various grains, fertilizer for maintaining or increasing soil fertility, oil and gasoline for operating farm machinery.

In many cases the farm supply cooperative buys household goods too, food, work clothing, appliances, and thus performs the function of a regular consumer cooperative. The farm and household supply cooperative meets needs of the farmer in his dual capacity as a producer and a consumer.

The functions of the farm supply cooperative are widely conducted as aspects of the program of the processing and marketing cooperative. Hence, the result is a processing-marketing farm supply cooperative;

⁴ In the United States, and in some other countries, cooperatives have developed super markets and with the aid of their wholesalers are in a fair way to compete with chain stores.

⁵ Luxury goods are generally avoided by cooperatives, partly because of the fickleness of the buyers, partly because of sudden changes in styles, partly because of undemocratic implications.

some also function as a household-supply cooperative. The members of the board of management of such a cooperative find themselves wishing to sell at the highest prices and almost the next minute wishing to buy at the lowest reasonable costs. The result in certain cooperatives, for example, in Norway, is that a broad price basis is established, one that considers producer costs and consumer purchasing resources. An adjustment is made somewhere between producer interests and consumer interests.

Petroleum cooperatives are virtually consumer cooperatives producing petroleum products for their members. They engage extensively in processing. They buy oil lands, sink and operate oil wells, lay and maintain pipe lines, build and operate oil refineries, make different grades of lubricating oils, own and operate service stations and fleets of oil trucks. Processing cooperatives may also manufacture paints and commercial fertilizers.⁶

d. *Wholesale consumer cooperatives* are organizations formed by, owned by, and controlled by retail consumer cooperatives. Thus, the latter can pool their orders for goods and avail themselves of the discounts given for quantity orders. The savings or surpluses after all expenses are met are returned on a pro rata basis to the member societies who have patronized their wholesale society. These patronage refunds tend to increase the patronage refunds to the individual members of the retail cooperatives.

Because the wholesale cooperative has difficulties in obtaining goods of given quality and price when it needs them, it develops processing and production activities. Thus, the wholesale consumer cooperative may bear a functional relationship to processing and marketing cooperatives and to production cooperatives.⁷

In the United States, and elsewhere, a "co-op label" has been developed and is being used extensively. The purpose is to enable members of retail cooperatives to purchase "cooperative brands" of goods. The label usually grades particular canned fruits and vegetables into A, B, C standards and describes the contents in detail. Co-op label canned goods sometimes use the slogan "See the inside from the outside."

e. Not only goods but *services* are the objects of cooperative activities. The cooperative *insurance company* is an example. The farmers' mutual fire insurance companies that were first organized in the United States

⁶ The Consumers Cooperative Association of Kansas City has a membership of 1,700 retail cooperatives operating in nine states and transacting an annual business close to \$100,000,000 with its member societies.

⁷ The Cooperative Wholesale Society of England engages in farming and dairying and owns and operates 150 or more factories.

in 1820 and that now include about 1,900 companies have a common pattern. The farmers in a given county form an association, and originally when a fire occurred assumed the major portion of the loss, perhaps two thirds, and assessed themselves amounts to cover two thirds of the loss on a pro rata basis according to the amount for which each was insured. Now they estimate the total fire losses that normally will occur in a year and pay pro rata assessments, so as to have funds on hand to meet the fire losses without delay. The officials of the company render services either gratuitously or at a low per diem rate. A room for offices is often furnished free in some store in a centrally located town or city. The overhead expenses are low and the total costs are kept at a minimum. Since the premiums to be paid are estimated in advance, the insurance costs can be budgeted.⁸

Cooperative insurance companies now include fire insurance, life insurance, automobile insurance, casualty insurance.⁹

Cooperative insurance societies or insurance departments of large cooperative wholesales have proved to be excellent sources of capital for retail consumer cooperatives. The costs to the latter are low, arrangements are free from red tape, and loan opportunities to the former are safe.¹⁰

f. Because serious illness strikes families suddenly and because of high medical costs, *health and hospital cooperatives* have developed, as illustrated by the Farmers Union Hospital Association of Elk City, Oklahoma. In 1929 farmers within a radius of 75 miles of Elk City formed an association¹¹ and purchased shares for the construction of a hospital and the purchase of equipment. They elected delegates, who in turn chose a board of directors. The board appointed a business manager and a chief of medical staff who was given full charge of the medical policies and who chose the staff. The costs of maintenance were estimated, and the farmers paid on a pro rata basis in advance according to the size of the family and the ages of the members. The hospital maintains clinics where members may come for regular examination without charge—an important prevention-of-disease measure. Stated prepayments,

⁸ These companies insure not only against fire but also against windstorm and tornado hazards.

⁹ The Cuna Mutual Insurance Society, which has developed in connection with Credit Union National Association (Cuna), insures beneficiaries against losses due to permanent disability or death, and it also offers life insurance. It ties together credit unions and cooperative insurance.

¹⁰ Provided loans are made to solvent and well-managed consumer cooperatives. Thus, cooperative insurance and consumer cooperatives are brought into joint action.

¹¹ Under the direction of Dr. M. A. Shadid.

distribution of risks, prevention of disease, group practice, and democratic controls are strong points of this system. They avoid a resort to state medicine and are to be distinguished from health insurance. A number of cooperative health plans similar in many ways to the Elk City health cooperative have been developed in various places, such as Washington, D.C., Seattle, New York City, Two Harbors (Minnesota).

g. A *housing cooperative* is an association of families organized to buy a piece of land, to employ an architect to draw plans, to employ a contractor or builder, to raise funds to pay building and furnishing costs.¹²

The financing involves borrowing money at a low rate of interest from a cooperative insurance company or from a government or other agency. In Nova Scotia the cooperative housing groups hold regular weekly meetings for several months before the housing project is actually begun in order to discuss how they will meet one need or problem after another when it arises.¹³ Thus, most of the housing problems can be anticipated before they arise. The discussion meetings weed out any member who is not ready to engage in the cooperative enterprise.¹⁴

In New York the members of the Amalgamated Housing Corporation have built cooperative apartment houses on a large scale, beginning in 1929 when they began the erection of four housing structures totaling 635 apartments with loans made by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Other housing units have since been constructed. The Amalgamated Housing Consumers Society provides a number of services for the dwellers on a cooperative basis. The example of the Amalgamated Housing Corporation has been followed by approximately a dozen other similar cooperative apartment projects in the New York City area.

Semicooperative housing projects are many. For instance, a commercial builder puts up an apartment building and sells apartment units to individuals or individual families. A resale may be made on approval of the cooperative housing association to which all dwellers belong. The association arranges for standard services for all on a prepayment, prorated plan. Voluntary cooperative housing involving private ownership is to be distinguished from public housing.

¹² If one of their number is an attorney, he may take charge of the legal arrangements; if not, the services of an attorney interested in cooperative enterprises may be obtained.

¹³ Under the aegis of the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University.

¹⁴ The writer discusses the Nova Scotia development in "Cooperative Housing in Eastern Canada," *Sociology and Social Research*, 37:329-34, May-June 1953.

h. A *rural electrification cooperative* is an association of rural people who join together to buy electrical power from a private or a public agency and who build the necessary power lines with money made available by the government. Regular prorated prepayments are made to cover costs. Since 1935 when the plan went into operation, some 1,000 rural electrification cooperatives have been functioning in the United States, with loans from the government being repaid on time or ahead of time. Rural electric cooperatives have expedited farm production and have greatly reduced the appalling amount of routine work in rural homes and on farms.¹⁵

i. A *campus cooperative* is an association of students who join together to save expenses in boarding, in rooming, in obtaining books, in meeting laundry and clothes-cleaning needs. In the boarding and rooming cooperative the members join in renting a house, in buying food, in cooking and serving meals, in washing dishes. The work time and the expenses are divided among the members on prearranged bases. As much as 40 per cent in savings costs are effected. Special problems are the lack of cooperative responsibility on the part of some members, the turnover in members, problems in management, summer vacations when facilities are but partly used. An important advantage in addition to savings is a training in democratic living.

j. Some associations of persons or departments of a wholesale or large retail cooperative and some labor unions provide *mortuary* services at costs as much as 40 per cent under those usually charged for the same type of service. The London Cooperative Society, for example, owns and operates as many as 75 funeral parlors in London at considerable savings. In the United States this type of service under cooperative auspices has developed slowly in states such as Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin.

k. Other kinds of consumer service cooperatives are many and varied in various countries. The list is too long to be cited here, but it includes such varied expressions as telephone cooperatives, irrigation cooperatives, stock-breeders cooperatives, arbitration cooperatives, soldiers' cooperatives, children cooperatives.

l. In times and areas of economic depression, the *self-help cooperative* has developed as a barter group whereby one kind of produce is exchanged for another (for example, potatoes for eggs, fresh vegetables for canned fruit), labor is exchanged for produce or products, products for products (men's working shirts for chairs). A storehouse may be established jointly by a number of self-help cooperatives, and supplies of

¹⁵ About 1,700 rural electrification cooperatives in the United States now serve 3,000,000 rural consumers (they have 750,000 miles of power lines).

considerable size of nonperishable goods are accumulated for exchange. By means of the self-help cooperative persons have been able to maintain at least a subsistence level of living without resorting to the dole or charity, while at the same time a considerable measure of self-respect has been conserved. The self-help cooperative is a joint producer-consumer association of people functioning at an elementary and vital level of livelihood.

3. *Producer cooperatives.* One kind of producer cooperative is a group of farmers uniting to farm jointly a piece of land and sharing alike in the costs and the returns according to the hours of labor in the returns. An adjustment in labor hours is made according to the different levels of skills contributed. One problem is the lack of training in working together by farmers. A farming cooperative is to be sharply distinguished from the collective farm where everything is owned in common.

A group of urban laborers may join in a cooperative in order to manufacture given products—workers' shirts, overalls, shoes—or to do printing.¹⁶ The members share in the costs and in the returns according to prearranged procedures. Many laborers, however, lack adequate funds and sufficient executive experience to meet the requirements of a producers' cooperative.

4. *Marketing and processing cooperatives.* A marketing cooperative is made up of a number of farmers who join together to sell the produce of a given kind of all the members at the highest prices possible. The cooperative may hold the produce in warehouses or refrigerating plants in order to take advantage of a possible rise in prices. The members receive a pro rata share of the net returns, which are considerably larger than if each farmer tried to sell his produce individually, and the convenience is much greater.

Of the 7,500 marketing cooperatives in the United States today the largest in numbers are the dairy produce cooperatives, the grain cooperatives, the fruit and vegetable cooperatives, the egg and poultry cooperatives, the cotton cooperatives. The combined annual sales of all marketing cooperatives in the United States is above eight billion dollars. Marketing cooperatives may perform extensive processing activities, as when fruits are canned or milk is changed into butter or cheese.

5. *Educational cooperatives.* A distinct type of cooperative is the group of people who are organized to gather data and to disseminate information about cooperatives and cooperative principles. These educational cooperatives are usually "cooperatives of cooperatives" supported

¹⁶ The Cooperative Production Federation of England with headquarters in Nottingham represents a considerable number of producers' cooperatives.

by dues payments from retail or wholesale cooperatives. They furnish speakers and publish books and pamphlets. They direct cooperative institutes and provide films on cooperative themes. They encourage the functioning of study groups and discussion circles.¹⁷ Too much importance cannot be attached to the function of discussion groups among the members of local cooperatives, for they play a major role in combating apathy and in developing a widespread appreciation of what cooperatives are all about, and of cooperative principles.

The *cooperative college* is an important educational cooperative. It conducts one-year and two-year training courses in cooperative techniques and principles, and shorter institutes.¹⁸ It usually sponsors or conducts correspondence courses in cooperative methods, history, and principles, which are having great influence in countries such as Sweden. Cooperative *women's guilds*, such as those in England, have rendered far-reaching educational service. Cooperative *radio stations*, as in the United States, are of increasing importance. Many regional wholesale and national cooperatives are publishing cooperative *newspapers*, some with large circulations, carrying news about cooperatives and consumers, and general news. There is a need for more cooperation between the different types of cooperatives, a cooperation that can occur as rapidly as educational programs to that end are put into operation.

6. A *recreational cooperative* is a group of people banded together to stage amateur plays, to engage in folk dancing and singing games, and other recreational activities. They enjoy plays and games for the play's and the game's own sake and the pleasure that fun-loving persons can have in one another's company when the strife of personal and group competition is superseded by seeing every participant expressing himself freely in a common enjoyment enterprise.

While the different types of cooperatives differ in the degree that they express democratic attitudes toward the rest of the world, they are all basically democratic in their intragroup activities. They represent "the freest form of free enterprise," they build on the private ownership of property, and they give to each member a full opportunity for the development of his personality. The whole spirit of the cooperative movement, composed of many types of cooperatives, is expressed against

¹⁷ In the United States the general educational cooperative is the Cooperative League; and in Great Britain, the Cooperative Union. In Sweden and Norway, the work of a national educational cooperative is conducted as a part of the national organization (KF in Sweden and NKL in Norway). For all national cooperatives the educational cooperative is the International Cooperative Alliance with headquarters in London.

¹⁸ The best known are located in Loughborough, England; Var Gard, Sweden; Sandvika, Norway; Freidorf, Switzerland.

totalitarianism of every kind wherever it shows its head and in the direction of building a human society of free men and women characterized by mutual helpfulness. It believes in a mixed economic system functioning on free competitive bases. The movement practices no violence, no underhanded methods, no misrepresentation of its aims; it works for the development of attitudes of personal responsibility for the welfare of mankind.

PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL NEWS

University of California, Los Angeles. Dr. Harold Garfinkel from The Ohio State University has been named assistant professor in the Department. Dr. Ralph H. Turner is now an advisory editor of the *American Journal of Sociology*. Dr. Leonard Broom has returned from the Hawaiian Islands to resume the chairmanship of the Department.

George Pepperdine College. Dr. Thomas E. Lasswell has accepted a position at Grinnell College as an associate professor of sociology. Mr. Woodrow W. Scott, candidate for the Ph.D. at the University of Southern California, follows Dr. Lasswell at Pepperdine.

Pomona College. Dr. Ray Baber will spend the coming academic year in Japan on a Fulbright grant studying the effect of the war on Japanese family life.

University of Southern California. Dr. Philip Hauser, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, served as visiting professor during the Summer Session. Three graduate students earned the doctorate in the Department: Drs. Vernon Snowbarger, Jerome Green, and Ike Yoshino. Snowbarger returns to Bethany College. Green and Yoshino have accepted instructorships at Washington State College. Dr. Martin H. Neumeyer succeeds Dr. Melvin Vincent as head of the Department. The Department has inaugurated a policy of rotation of the administrative duties of the head. Dr. Edward C. McDonagh will be on leave for the fall semester to complete several research projects.

The Journal Endowment Fund. It may be reported as of July 15 that the subscriptions to the "Journal of Sociology and Social Research Endowment Fund" since May 15 total \$1,430.00, that the subscriptions already paid for the first year amount to \$668.35, and that the contributors number 46. The subscriptions continue to be received, and hence the publication in the Journal of the list of contributors (Journal Associates) will be postponed until a later issue. The contributions range from \$5.00 to \$100.00. This splendid response is gratifying, particularly since the contributions have not been limited to members of Alpha Kappa Delta. Subscriptions to the Endowment Fund will be welcome from those who may have mislaid the initial invitation, for all such contributions are needed to increase the financial security of the Journal.

PEOPLES AND CULTURE

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN ROCHESTER, 1842-1925. By Stuart E. Rosenberg. New York: American Jewish Historical Society and Columbia University Press, 1954, pp. xi+325.

In this doctoral dissertation (Columbia University), a Jewish rabbi presents in a scholarly way the history of the Jewish community in Rochester, New York, up to 1925 when the widespread immigration of Jews came to a close because of the passage of the quota immigration law in 1924. German Jews came to Rochester first and were in process of being assimilated when Eastern Jews arrived, after the Civil War, and as a result the Jews became "a community of duplicate and competitive organizations of conflicting purposes and divided interests," with sharp tensions developing. However, various factors operated to offset the divisive tendencies. A second book is promised—to bring this account of ethnic and religious experiences to date.

A.R.R.

THIS NEW WORLD. The Civilization of Latin America. By William L. Schurz. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1954, pp. xii+429.

In a pleasing style and in an integrative way, the author treats the peoples of the twenty republics "to the south" in terms of environment, the Indian, the Spaniard, the Negro, the foreigner, the church, the woman, the city, the Brazilian. This historical treatise presents many social facts of far-reaching significance.

WORLD SAFARI. By Maysie Skutt. Pasadena, California: Publication Press, 1954, pp. ix+181.

In this story of a trip around the world, particular emphasis is given to personal experiences in Tokyo, Bangkok, Delhi, Srinagar, Beirut. In a frank and informal style the author describes personal contacts with fellow passengers on boat, train, and plane. She deplores the attitude of some Americans of "giving aid to backward countries" and would substitute the attitude, for example, of "cooperating with Indians for the good of India." The friendly attitude of this traveler and her husband produced an amazing amount of friendliness all the way around the world.

KINSHIP ORGANIZATION IN INDIA. By Irawati Karve. Poona, India: Deccan College Monograph Series: 11, 1953, pp. viii+304.

In this carefully detailed study, Mrs. Karve has presented an outstanding analysis of an important aspect of social organization in India, describing kinship patterns in terms of linguistic regions, the caste institution, and the family organization. Dr. Karve presents a great wealth of data for each of four zones of India—northern, central, southern, and eastern. She concludes that to study a simple social structure, it is necessary to understand the whole, "which is made up by the entire social fabric of the social institutions, traditions, and mental habits" represented in the culture of a people, and that in this sense any social study "is incomplete and doomed to remain ever incomplete." A.R.R.

A REPORT ON TAIWAN'S POPULATION. By George W. Barclay. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954, pp. 120.

Taiwan's high fertility and increasing population are found to be due to "traditions of large families, common practices that favor high fertility, and ignorance of any way to avoid unwanted births."

INDIA AND CULTURE. A General and Regional Geography. By O. H. K. Spate. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1954, pp. xxxvi+827.

The student of social relations will find Part 2 of special interest. It includes such themes as the peoples of India, population changes, village and town life, a historical survey of civilization in India. Part 3 deals with the agrarian, industrial, and transportation bases of life in India.

BREAK THROUGH THE COLOR FRONT. By Lee Nichols. New York: Random House, Inc., 1954, pp. x+235.

Lee Nichols, who works for the United Press in Washington, D.C., has presented in this book the story of the long-awaited end of racial segregation in the armed forces. Many months were spent by the author interviewing hundreds of officials—from former President Truman, generals, and admirals, to lesser known but pivotal officials—who played leading roles in the drive to end military racial segregation.

Mr. Nichols traces the long history of the Negro's participation in the American armed forces from 1770. Since then Negroes have been a part of every war—the Revolution, the War of 1812, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, and both World Wars.

The author calls this break through the color front the "unknown war," for under the pressures of the Korean conflict the United States armed establishment, almost unnoticed, abandoned racial segregation and found, to the amazement of all concerned, that nonsegregation works and at the same time produces a better fighting force.

An important chapter details the damage dealt our foreign relations by American racial practices. Our men in uniform who now are parts of racially mixed units are an effective answer to Soviet propaganda on mistreatment of minorities in this country. This book is a challenge to civilian America and is of utmost significance for sociologists in the field of race relations.

MARCIA ECK LASSWELL

George Pepperdine College

THE RACIAL INTEGRITY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO. By A. H. Shannon. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1953, pp. 262.

The author is deeply concerned about the status of the full-blood Negro in the United States. He contends that the advancement of the mixed blood, or Mulatto, works against the self-respect of the full blood, even to the point where the latter is losing his "racial integrity."

To meet this problem the author proposes that young, healthy, married full-blood couples migrate in numbers to Africa and there set up a nation state of their own where they might progress without the handicaps that are present for them in the United States. But the details of how such a goal could be achieved are not given, and hence the plan lacks practical support.

A.R.R.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND WELFARE

BUT WE WERE BORN FREE. By Elmer Davis. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1954, pp. ix+229.

In this group of essays a distinguished journalist and holder of at least four honorary degrees defends one of the American freedoms, the freedom of the mind. The title of the book suggests that deep inroads have been made on the American's freedom to think, and the book itself points out what factors in American life today the author considers the most damaging to that priceless freedom. He names people and speaks with American forthrightness.

THE COOPERATIVE STORY. By Agnes Allen. Illustrations by Jack Allen. Manchester, England: Holyoake House, 1953, pp. 70.

Within limited compass the author gives a history of the cooperative movement in Great Britain, with chapters on "The Cooperative Movement Spreads over the World" and "The Cooperative Movement and Education." The book is designated for the use of young people, and many facts are presented interestingly, although briefly.

ROOFS FOR THE FAMILY. By Eva Burmeister. New York: Columbia University Press, 1954, pp. 203.

The subtitle of this warmly written book is "Building a Center for the Care of Children," and, step by step with Miss Burmeister, the reader follows the progress and the process of a large congregate institution being replaced by modern, child-centered cottages. As those familiar with the author's previous book, *Forty-Five in the Family*, will remember, the Lakeside Children's Center in Milwaukee has been for many years primarily concerned in making group living for children as constructive an experience as possible. The same underlying theme is recognized again. Children placed away from their own families often seek for security in such tangible objects as familiar furniture, outgrown clothing, or a tattered toy, for to give up the old for the new, however promising, can be a difficult experience for them. The children we meet in these pages, however, were carefully prepared for the change: the Big Boys made a model of the new plans, the Big Girls refinished furniture, and the younger children constructed bookcases and helped with the moving. The staff too were helped to take the move in stride, and the contributions that board members can make in developing plans and interpreting changes to the community around a project such as this are clearly illustrated.

The value of individual rooms to children living in a group situation is discussed, as is the meaning of pets to children without families and the day-by-day use of television and the telephone. Most of all, the author emphasizes the support and security children must receive from living with and being cared for by settled and understanding adults. The new cottages sound attractive and comfortable, and the descriptions of them will suggest ideas to other child-caring agencies contemplating a building program. This book is easily read, but for the reader concerned about the welfare of children there is much to learn from it.

MARJORIE MONTELIUS
Olympia, Washington

THE CHILD AUDIENCE. A Report on Press, Film and Radio for Children.
By Philippe Bauchard. Paris: UNESCO, 1953, pp. 198.

Films, radio programs, and pages for children in newspapers were studied by Professor Bauchard (France) and summarized. It is concluded that the materials for children in newspapers, as a rule, are "undoubtedly second-rate in inspiration and devoid of new ideas, and they make innumerable concessions to the taste of an increasingly sensation-loving public that is averse to any mental effort." In those few cases where films have been specially intended for children, "the results appear to have been most encouraging." Children, however, to a large degree continue to see films intended for adults. The "general inferiority of radio programs for children" is noted, although some exceptions are mentioned, for example, music broadcasts for children. A concluding chapter gives data concerning legislation in these fields and adds value to a report which reveals widespread shortsightedness and indifference concerning the welfare of the child.

E.S.B.

TREATMENT OF THE DELINQUENT ADOLESCENT. By Harris B. Peck and Virginia Bellsmith. New York: Family Service Association of America, 1953, pp. 147.

A major importance of this document is its firsthand reports of group therapy conducted in behalf of delinquent adolescents and also of parents of such adolescents. A result that often occurs is an increase in personality flexibility on the part of adolescents and also of parents.

URBAN BEHAVIOR. By E. Gordon Ericksen. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954, pp. 482.

Professor Ericksen has attempted in this new text on urban sociology (1) to bring together the basic research on urban life, (2) to de-emphasize the old rural-urban dichotomy, (3) to demonstrate the relationship between concepts and empirical observation in urban sociology, and (4) to portray urban behavior in process. For the most part, the author has achieved these goals with clarity and understanding. The level of the material is upper division without being written "down" to the level of reading of the average freshman.

Perhaps the strongest section in the book deals with the ecology of the city. Students will grasp the dynamics of the principal ecological

processes. A superior chapter has been written on the relationship between mass behavior and personality. Some instructors may desire more attention to city planning and redevelopment than Ericksen presents. One of the chief assets of this book on urbanism is that no one single city is used over and over again for illustrative purposes, for illustrations are cited from many of the major cities in several regions of the United States. Ericksen has done a good job of blending of empirical data with sociological concepts.

E.C.M.

NEW YORK CITY'S SENIOR CITIZENS. Our Most Neglected Resource, Our Most Important Challenge, Our Greatest Opportunity. Report of the Mayor's Advisory Committee for the Aged. Mimeographed and Bound in Three Volumes, 1953.

This report discusses the problems of senior citizens from the standpoint of adult education, community services, housing, legislation, medical care, social service, employment, institutional care. It points out that New York's senior citizens are "increasing at a rate nine times as fast as the remainder of the city's population."

Only one substudy will be mentioned here, the relation of activity and of income to retirement. Of the senior citizens who had from 5 to 9 activities, "71 per cent found retirement satisfactory," while of those who reported from 1 to 4 activities, "only 52 per cent found retirement satisfactory." Satisfaction with retirement was found also to decrease as adequacy of income decreased. This report brings to the surface a wide range of problems of senior citizens and furnishes many pertinent facts and figures.

E.S.B.

PROPERTY, PROFITS, AND PEOPLE. By Thurman Andrew. Washington, D.C.: Progress Press, 1954, pp. 242.

The talents of an engineer, electrician, mathematician, and economist combined in one man have produced this book, which tries to show the causes and consequences of the depression of the 1930's. A number of the chapter headings indicate the trend of the author's thinking: The Pattern of Competition, Monopoly and Power, Business Cycles, Profits, Endowments, Advertising for Profits, and Business in Transition. A possession-for-use system of economics is presented as the remedy of the currently sick economic order. This system aims to eliminate the flux and uncertainties of the current economic life. Advertising has its weaknesses "as it not only presents a false and one-sided view of goods and public issues but it frequently uses its wiles and power to abuse the

truth." A possession-for-use economy will have "no lack of sales and no need for high pressure advertising."

The book presents an argument framed by the concepts of democracy and freedom as interpreted by the author. His purpose is to call attention to the weaknesses of the profit system and to show how this system can be remade under democracy into a better system.

WOODROW W. SCOTT

INTERGROUP EDUCATION. By Lloyd and Elaine Cook. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1954, pp. ix+392.

Written for students and teachers in college classes in teacher education, this book emphasizes the significant role of group interaction in personal and social growth in a society built upon democratic principles of human relationships. The book is divided into four parts. Part I discusses the educator's growing interest in human relations and explains the point of view and purpose of the textbook: that of search for facts and changes that center on equal-rights values which give a fair break to everyone. It also examines briefly majority and minority group relations.

In Part II the authors, by means of the case study method, analyze and interpret various current studies of prejudice and discrimination. These studies range from those found in early childhood to those of adulthood, and in all the main purpose is that of developing insight and understanding of the factors causing conflict between ethnic groups.

Part III attacks the educator's problem of changing the attitudes and values of people separated by social distance caused by misunderstanding and prejudice. The authors present a theory of human-rights education and suggest patterns for its use in schools and colleges. Since colleges and universities provide centers for training teachers in human relations, the authors conclude by stressing the need for research in this area of education.

CECIL EVVA LARSEN

SOCIAL PLANNING IN AMERICAN AMERICA. A Dynamic Interpretation. By Joseph S. Himes. New York: Doubleday & Company, 1954, pp. ix+59.

Planning activities are treated in this booklet as occurring "in a double context of continuous social change and conflicting social values" and as being deeply affected by both. Social change involves changes of culture

and "alterations of social relationships." Social values include "the values of social organizations, the values of individualism, and the values of social welfare and humanitarianism." Social planning involves four methods: "investigation, discussion, agreement, and action." Social organization and value heritages "tend to limit, for the time at least, the prospects of social planning."

E.S.B.

THE JUVENILE IN DELINQUENT SOCIETY. By Milton L. Barron.
New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1954, pp. 349.

The stated theme of this book is that "the problem of juvenile delinquency can best be understood on the one hand and reduced on the other hand in a comprehensive, societal frame of reference." There is nothing startlingly new in this idea or in the organization of the material, which follows a pattern similar to that of standard texts in the field. Part I defines and describes the problem of delinquency, Part II deals with the etiology in terms of the factors usually considered in relation to causation, Part III presents the official procedure followed in handling a case from detention through treatment, with a final chapter on control and prevention.

The uniqueness of the book lies in its enthusiastic attack on outmoded, inadequate programs of treatment and prevention. The author effectively challenges the popular panaceas that have motivated programs and techniques for many years. It is the author's contention that the solution to the problem lies in the modification of the American social structure and some of the values and functions of American society. He gives a new panacea, "a reduction in the prevailing exaggerated emphasis on such values as competition and accumulation of wealth." He refers to the "underlying etiology" with a high degree of confidence and familiarity which he fails to impart to his reader because of the lack of scientific support for his theory of causation and prevention. It is not made clear why his proposal is more acceptable than the "educated guesses" of other specialists.

The book is informative and stimulating and leads one to analyze more critically the traditional approaches and the well-intentioned, though perhaps misguided, efforts directed toward the problem of juvenile delinquency. The case studies are well chosen, the illustrations are unusual, the bibliography contains excellent current material, and the author's style is interesting and pleasing.

ESTHER PENCHEF

Los Angeles State College

FREEDOM AND WELFARE. *Social Patterns in the Northern Countries of Europe.* Edited by George R. Nelson. Copenhagen: The Ministries of Social Affairs of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, 1953, pp. xiii+539.

With rare skill the contributions to this book have been woven together in an account of how each of the five so-called Scandinavian countries are meeting the problems of family welfare, industrial relations, social security, health, and rehabilitation. The materials for each of the five countries are presented by a capable student of "freedom and welfare." The result is more important than a symposium, for comparisons are made throughout the book showing how the five countries are meeting their social problems.

The editor and authors conclude that in the Northern countries "social welfare policy, is being gradually transformed into a policy of social planning" involving programs "for full and productive employment, family welfare and housing, prophylactic health, and rehabilitation of handicapped persons." The increase in general welfare made possible by social reform has resulted to a degree in a "reduction of social tensions and in the promotion of social solidarity." A long-term trend is noted in an increasing proportion of social expenditures met by the public treasury. The conclusion is offered that "freedom and welfare" are but two sides of one great movement, "the striving of the common man to obtain for himself and his fellows a more secure and more satisfying life." The book is an excellent piece of the printer's art; it is well illustrated by many splendid photographs.

E.S.B.

INTERNATIONAL HANDBOOK OF COOPERATIVE LEGISLATION.

By Laszlo Valko. Pullman: State College of Washington, 1954, pp. xi +273.

In the Preface W. P. Watkins, Director of the International Alliance (London) which assisted in the preparation of this study, states that, whereas cooperative movements are not created by legislation, yet "without an appropriate framework a cooperative movement in the form of a growing economic organism is not possible or even conceivable." This book summarizes Margaret Digby's *Digest of Cooperative Law at Home and Abroad*, covering the years from 1852 to 1932, and then brings together the cooperative legislation that has followed up to March 1953 for about twenty European countries. The amount of work involved is indicated by the fact that for France 435 cooperative laws are reviewed,

for Italy 229 laws, and so on to 2 for Trieste. The author is to be congratulated on the painstaking, detailed, and useful study that he has produced.

E.S.B.

SUCCESSFUL MANAGEMENT OF MATRIMONIAL CASES. By Howard H. Spellman. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1954, pp. xiv+306.

The author qualifies as an eminent authority in the field of matrimonial law because he was formerly the President of the New York County Civil and Criminal Courts Bar Association and of the Home Advisory Council, and is at the present time a member of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York's Special Committee on the Improvement of Family Law. This book has two values for the family sociologist. It will serve to acquaint him specifically with legalistic phases of divorce and court procedure. In this field the book has an outstanding contribution to make to both sociology and marriage counseling. In the second place, it will serve to underline the lack of communication between the psychologist and sociologist and the legal profession. While the author makes some good common-sense observations regarding the causes of conflict situations in the home, his chapters reveal an almost total lack of acquaintance with psychological or sociological research about the etiology of family conflict and the alienation process. There is a profound need for interdisciplinary sharing in the field of the family, and this valuable book serves to emphasize the need.

J.A.P.

SOCIAL THEORY AND RESEARCH

FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIAL SURVIVAL. By John Lindberg. New York: Columbia University Press, 1953, pp. viii+260.

In this excursion into social theory the author describes two model cities: one of reason, after the manner of Plato and Aristotle, and the other of love, as expressed in Christianity. He holds that the survival of society is not inevitable and uses the city as an example for considering the factors that make for and against societal survival. He finds four factors common to all societies: namely, production, reproduction, defense, and order; then adds a fifth, a balance of these four elements. The city of love is judged to have better possibilities of survival than the city of reason because of its conserving dynamic elements.

A.R.R.

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL REFORM MOVEMENTS. Principles and Readings, Selected and Edited with Analytical Introductions. By John Eric Nordskog. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954, pp. x+550.

All too often books of readings in the social sciences consist of loosely connected material that lacks any organizing principle to weld the whole together. This volume is an exception. It comprises almost fifty very carefully chosen readings in the broad area of reform ideology. Their authors are prominent critics or representative spokesmen for the viewpoints and movements they discuss, and include, among others, Madison, De Tocqueville, Marx and Engels, Sir Ernest Barker, Karl Mannheim, Theodore Roosevelt, Sumner Slichter, Stanley High, Hans Kohn, and Norman Thomas.

The readings are grouped in nine parts, beginning with the primary definitions of social reform and revolution, followed by an exposition of the alternatives of liberalism and collectivism. Part III considers the fundamental basis and values of democracy, followed by a treatment of the totalitarian nature of socialist, communist, and fascist types of collectivism. This includes an analysis of Soviet ideology, fascist concepts, and the theory and practice of National Socialism. The last three parts are concerned with labor-management trends in the American economy, the Progressive and New Deal movements, and the ideology of nationalism, respectively. This last part, in addition to readings on the psychology of nationalism and world peace, includes two pertinent sections on modern Asia.

What makes the book especially valuable is the fact that every part begins with a succinct discussion of the entire subject under review, combined with a brief introduction to every reading, the whole section being cogently summarized. These interpretative expositions by the editor, in the words of the Preface, ". . . are designed to facilitate intelligent study and to underscore and emphasize both the basic principles and the salient points in the reprinted materials," and in this the book succeeds.

The work ends with an impressive bibliography, organized by topics, and comprehensive footnotes that should prove useful to scholars. The approach throughout is marked by objectivity. This reviewer knows of no other book of readings in this field that is more balanced or comprehensive in its presentation than *Contemporary Social Reform Movements*.

JOHN E. OWEN

Florida Southern College

THE SOCIOLOGY OF WORK. By Theodore Caplow. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954, pp. viii+330.

Paying a large measure of respect to Durkheim's idea that "the complex society is maintained by the mutual dependence of highly specialized and differentiated occupational groups," sociologist Caplow proceeds to study and philosophize about social roles which are derived from "the classification of men by the work they do." The sociology of work or occupational sociology poses, according to the Caplow analysis, such problems as may be found in the following questions: How is the relative rank of each occupation in the social hierarchy determined? What is the effect of occupational characteristics upon the development of such associations as labor unions? How are the social roles appropriate to each occupation created and maintained? What are the typical forms of occupational segregation and what are the effects upon society? Among other subjects discussed are those pertaining to the assignments of work, measurement of occupational status, occupational institutions and ideologies, the sociology of the labor market and working conditions. Well presented, the text indirectly offers some meaty suggestions for empirical studies in the field.

M.J.V.

URBAN TRAFFIC. A Function of Land Use. By Robert B. Mitchell and Chester Rapkin. New York: Columbia University Press, 1954, pp. xviii+226.

This book is devoted to an analysis of the traffic of people and goods in urban areas. The major topics discussed include the spatial, temporal, and other characteristics of intraurban movements, and the relationships between these movements and types of urban land use. The authors seem to be mainly interested in suggesting ways of analyzing urban traffic and in presenting a number of concepts and hypotheses that might prove useful in such an analysis. They illustrate their discussion by referring to the results of a number of traffic surveys conducted in various American cities. They also refer to a survey which they made at four establishments in the central district of Philadelphia. The sample design of this study is not discussed.

One interesting feature of this book is the attempt made to use the concept of role in the analysis of the movement of people. Generally speaking, the best and most interesting part of this book deals with the movement of people. An annotated bibliography of studies of urban traffic would have been useful.

G.S.

THE CONFLICT IN EDUCATION IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY. By Robert M. Hutchins. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953, pp. 112.

The author describes fallacies in the following four prevailing theories or doctrines of education: the adjustment theory, the doctrine of meeting immediate needs, the social reform aim, and "the doctrine that we need no doctrine at all," and then defines his idea of a liberal education which trains the understanding and judgment, especially of adults. He hopes that pragmatism, positivism, and Marxism "will gradually lose their power" and that man may be educated as "an intellectual, moral, spiritual being." He deplores the exaggerated role of "science and the scientific method" and of "uneducated specialists." E.S.B.

FORMS AND TECHNIQUES OF ALTRUISTIC AND SPIRITUAL GROWTH. A Symposium, edited by Pitirim A. Sorokin. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1954, pp. xi+476.

THE WAYS AND POWER OF LOVE. Types, Factors, and Techniques of Moral Transformation. By Pitirim A. Sorokin. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1954, pp. xi+476.

In the *Forms and Techniques of Altruistic and Spiritual Growth* the author aims to examine man's creativity in terms of his alter ego's functions. According to Sorokin, man is more than body and mind; he is a "triadic being" made up of body, mind, and *nous* (or spirit), or, in better-known terms, the unconscious, the conscious, and the supraconscious forms of being.

The symposium is divided into five parts. The first and second (like most of the companion volume) deal with the philosophical background and techniques of various Yogas. It is Sorokin's belief that these two parts and *The Ways and Power of Love* will lay the foundation for a new applied science called "amitology," a science of "moral and spiritual education, and of friendly relationships between persons and groups." The rest of the symposium reports various practical applications, such as an examination of group prejudice by Gordon W. Allport, psychodramatic production techniques by J. L. Moreno, and group therapy among prisoners and their change from "antagonism to altruism."

In *The Ways and Power of Love* the author attempts to elaborate on his thesis: To increase our knowledge of the love of man according to the standards of the Sermon on the Mount. The author tries to explain, translate, and apply the various systems or "techniques" of the

Yogas as transmitted to present-day thinking and believing in the Vedanta, in the Upanishads, and by their many students and followers in the techniques of altruistic transformation. Sorokin's investigation of this his cherished ideal is notable for its depth and breadth. He has integrated his knowledge—anthropological, sociological, psychological, and literary—into these two volumes. Often it appears as though he is quoting too much or is digressing from the subject. The reader will usually discover, however, that the underlying thesis is subtly transmitted to the reader. Sorokin does not feel that he has spoken the last word, since his "contribution is very modest in comparison with the total sum of necessary studies." However, every contribution of this kind is deemed necessary today, "since the better brains are busy with other problems," such as the invention of means of extermination of human beings, the promotion of warfare, or "intertribal crusades" against enemies.

HANS A. ILLING

THEORY AND METHOD IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. By Arnold M. Rose. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1954, pp. xii + 351.

Of the twenty-two chapters in this book, thirteen have been previously published in various journals. These papers, together with nine others, do not represent a systematic treatment of the title of the book but a collection of important papers more or less directly related to the general theme.

Theory is defined as "an integrated body of definitions, assumptions, and general propositions covering a given subject from which a comprehensive and consistent set of specific and testable hypotheses can be deduced logically." It "channelizes research along certain lines" and "does not encourage equally all lines of investigation," it "tends to bias observation," its "concepts tend to get reified" and "to lead to over-generalization." These statements are sufficient to indicate the insight and incisiveness with which the author discusses a number of themes that have a bearing on social research, such as social organization and disorganization, the problem of a mass society, group conflict and its mediation, the meeting place of social research and social action, the social responsibility of the social scientist, conditions of the social science experiment, attitude measurement, experimentation in interviewing, the use of "informal small samples." Each of the papers in this book stands by itself and offers a full quota of important suggestions.

E.S.B.

THE NATURE OF PREJUDICE. By Gordon W. Allport. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1954, pp. 537.

Social scientists will find *The Nature of Prejudice* a standard work for years to come. According to Allport, ethnic prejudice is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole or toward an individual because he is a member of that group. He points out that prejudgments become prejudices only if they are not reversible when exposed to new knowledge. Significant factors in a scale of negative prejudice are antilocution, avoidance, discrimination, physical attack, and, finally, extermination.

The major topics of this book are preferential thinking, group differences, perceiving and thinking about group differences, sociocultural factors, acquiring prejudices, character structure, and reducing group tensions. Under these topics a very careful review of all pertinent research has been made available to the reader. Perhaps one of the most rewarding experiences the reader will gain from a study of this work lies in the many facets associated with the single word *prejudice*. Important information is thus presented on the formation of prejudice, types of prejudices, intensity of prejudice, tests of prejudices, cultural factors in prejudices, and personality characteristics and prejudices. Allport combines the objectivity of the scientist with a dynamic faith in democratic processes in turning out an excellent book on a most controversial subject.

E.C.M.

COMMUNITY AND ENVIRONMENT. By E. A. Gutland. New York: Philosophical Library, pp. xiii+81.

In this essay the author discusses the problems and methods involved in working out "a framework of reference for socioecological studies." He advocates the building of environments that will be helpful in enabling people to live well—for example, an environment in which every citizen "would have his own house." He protests the tendency of a modern nation "to dominate the economic and social life of its citizens" and to produce "social and political conformity." He urges the development of democratic life-centered communities oriented toward world-wide welfare and feels that the domination of peoples by national states is leading "mankind to its final ruin."

NEEDED URBAN AND METROPOLITAN RESEARCH. Edited by Donald J. Bogue. Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation for Social Research in Population Problems, 1953, pp. 88.

In this unique monograph a number of subjects are presented in talks by competent persons, chiefly in the form of problems for research and as indications of the need for knowledge in the following fields: public and private housing (Elizabeth Wood), the decentralization and the growth of suburbs (Donald J. Bogue), the redevelopment and the control of slums and blighted areas (Joseph D. Lohman), comprehensive planning (Harvey S. Perloff), control and reduction of transportation congestion (Walter H. Blucher), the internal structure of cities and metropolitan areas (Harold W. Mayer). One of the most important papers is that by Ernest W. Burgess on "The Ecology and Social Psychology of the City." This report will keep research students busy for some time to come.

E.S.B.

CULTURE AND PERSONALITY. By John J. Honigmann. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954, pp. 499.

Those seeking a text for courses in culture and personality may find this neatly organized work by Honigmann a welcome addition to their narrow list of choices. After two introductory parts, "Content and Scope" and "Methods and Techniques," the subject matter is treated under the main section headings: Patterning of Personality, Social Differentiation and Personality, and Psychiatric Problems. The sub-heads, in turn, reflect the types of data stressed in current periodical and monographic literature. Articles contained in anthologies, such as that of Kluckhohn and Murray, are skillfully paraphrased and related to the main concepts. This eliminates the disorganized and often inconsistent and confusing arrangement of such "readers."

The author, a cultural anthropologist, recognizes that "only through broad, new ideas does science advance" (p. 21) and that the strength of culture-personality research lies in its interdisciplinary nature. Thus he seeks to unite, as he must, data from the several social sciences, but he proceeds even further, bringing into his analysis some of the best recent work on the logical and philosophical foundations of scientific method. Though his interpretation of Northrop's paradigm is not quite correct, the effort to utilize the approach of that notable philosopher of science leads to a much more informed and penetrating analysis of methodological issues than is found in other available texts on culture and personality.

Credit is duly accorded by the author to a long list of anthropologists, psychologists, and psychiatrists "whose ideas the already sophisticated reader will recognize" (p. ix). One might wish the author had acquainted himself better with the vast sociological literature which has treated the same subject matter and the same concepts—often a decade, a generation, or even a longer stretch of time before these data and concepts found their way into this "vigorous interdisciplinary movement." For example, Ralph Linton's name has star billing in Honigmann's list of credits and recurs frequently in the text; yet no mention is made of W. I. Thomas, whose concepts are utilized with only minor alterations in the Lintonian schema (e.g., situational definitions, three of the "four wishes," etc.). Let us hope we shall not be thought provincial if we demand full States' Rights for Sociology in this proposed United States of Social Science. (Indeed, we would seem to have a fairly good historic and theoretic claim to the site of the capital if we could first clear away some of our own debris.)

JOSEPH B. FORD

Los Angeles State College

OUR EMERGENT CIVILIZATION. Edited by Ruth Nanda Anshen. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953, pp. x+339.

Fourth in the series called *Science of Culture*, this volume lends itself well to the furtherance of the general purpose of that series, namely, "to create a synthesis of contemporary knowledge and understanding with the aim of enlightenment as to modern values and possible applications to conduct." Dr. Anshen has sought to present a correlation of those contemporary ideas "which are not preoccupied with sense data and antiseptic, logical universals, but with the status of values, the bearing of these values on conduct, and the revitalization of reason."

Fifteen essays by those representing the fields of philosophy, economics, sociology, the arts, politics, and public life have been written for the book. The editor, writing on "The Decay of Ideals," declares the times to be tragic for man's already trampled individualism and his frustrations. Brand Blanshard in "Can Men Be Reasonable?" avers that one of the significant recent changes is the decline of faith in reason, and charges that an authoritarian spirit distrusts and fears the intellect. Robert M. MacIver writes on "The New Social Stratification" and holds that "social stratification, though forever changing, is in some sense as inherent in society as society is inherent in man." He sees the control function, wherever it may be, in modern society as the creator of the relations of subordination and superordination. Jacques Maritain in "A

New Approach to God" calls for an age of spiritual as well as social integration, thus providing for man's sanctification with the "touchstone in neighborly love." Here is a collection, then, of superlative challenges for consideration by those who would save their integrity as human beings.

M.J.V.

AMERICAN SOCIAL WORK THEORY. By Arthur P. Miles. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954, pp. ix+246.

At the outset, the author states that an American theory of social work "must be culturally relevant to the American scene," it must view social work in a nation-wide sense, it "must be closely associated with, and indivisible from the free institutions of a democratic society," it "must be complementary to, and supportive of a free-enterprise economy," it must be based, as far as possible, on "principles that are subject to empirical verification by social-scientific research," and it "must avow a progressive and pragmatic philosophy that is reformist in spirit as well as economically sound." This is a large order that social workers may well discuss and evaluate.

After reviewing case work, group work, and community organization, Dr. Miles concludes that a reliance upon psychoanalysis "as the basis for the theory of practice in case work, the largest field of social work, has resulted in the intellectual isolation of much of social work." In this connection, "many social workers have closed their minds to advances in knowledge in the social sciences." On the whole, this book offers several first-class yardsticks by which social workers may review and measure their profession. An excellent research program relating to social work theory is presented.

E.S.B.

ESSAYS IN SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY. Revised Edition. By Talcott Parsons. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954, pp. 458.

Three essays in the first edition have been dropped out of the revised edition, and eight essays have been inserted. The latter include papers on "Some Sociological Aspects of the Fascist Movements," "The Population and Social Structure of Japan," and "A Sociologist Looks at the Legal Profession," as well as more general papers on sociological theory and action. A minor change in the arrangement of the papers is made in this edition, a change that follows the order of the previous publication of these essays and that favors applied social theory more than did the first edition.

PUBLIC OPINION AND PROPAGANDA. *A Book of Readings.* Edited for the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. New York: The Dryden Press, 1954, pp. xi+779.

The materials of this volume have found their place therein because the volume itself "became an agenda item" for the Society of the Psychological Study of Social Issues several years ago when an editorial committee was set up to include subject matter from the writings and studies of political scientists, sociologists, and social psychologists. The editorial committee—Daniel Katz, Dorwin Cartwright, Samuel Eldersveld, and Alfred McClung Lee—had the support of a large advisory board chosen from many disciplines and undertook the task of equipping the work with an interdisciplinary approach, utilizing readings that would "show the societal context, the political structure, and the social dynamics of opinion formation." As a result, the readings have been placed under five headings: namely, Nature and Function of Public Opinion, Social and Political Context of Public Opinion, Social Psychological Processes Basic to Public Opinion, Dynamics of Opinion Formation and Change, Identification and Measurement of Public Opinion and Propaganda.

An imposing list of contributors makes for an attractive advertisement of the book, and the articles generally tend to display their talents. Some noted names appear—among them, James Bryce, A. Lawrence Lowell, Walter Lippmann, and Margaret Mead. Well organized by the editorial committee, the readings offer not only the classical treatment of the subjects but also whatever has been found to be of merit in newer empirical studies. No comments appear to supplement the articles. Hence, the use of this book as a successful text must rest solely upon the ability of the instructor to guide his students carefully.

M.J.V.

THE UNIVERSITY OF UTOPIA. By Robert M. Hutchins. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. ix+103.

Chancellor Hutchins points out certain dangers to education as he sees them. He takes them up in order: industrialization, specialization, philosophical diversity, and social and political conformity. In so doing he introduces, as he proceeds, certain educational ideas of his own. To illustrate: although workers are gaining more leisure time, "new methods of wasting it and new objects to waste it upon are being invented every day." People are receiving just enough education today "to permit them to be victimized by advertising and propaganda," but not enough to

enable them to appraise and resist the arts of those who would take advantage of them. How can "an educational system dedicated to industrial power" produce "the wisdom that a country needs to use its power in its own best interests, to say nothing of those of the human race"? Specialization and philosophical diversity mean "that specialized men cannot think together because their training and their work have split them off from other men." They cannot communicate with one another. American education "seems bent" on developing "a custodial system" where controversial subjects are ruled out, but, according to Hutchins' view, "the rule of the majority without discussion and criticism is tyranny," not democracy. The method of the University of Utopia is discussion, and its function is "to appraise theories and programs," to promote "independence of thought and action," and to rely on reason as the principal means by which society is to be advanced." This slim book is replete with challenging ideas that can be met adequately only by advancing better ones.

E.S.B.

HINDU SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. By Pandhari-Math Prabhu. Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1954, pp. xvii+393.

In this revised edition new materials are provided dealing with the family, the psychology and position of women, and the dynamic aspect of *dharma*. The book attempts to present "the essentials of Hindu social thought and organization" as found in various Hindu and other documents. The discussions are offered in relation to Western social thought, with which the author shows extensive acquaintance.

A major conclusion presented in the editor's note to the first edition concerning Hindu social thought is that "the highest individual development can and must be achieved in and through society, or to use the more comprehensive Hindu term, *Samsara*." This finding will come as a surprise to many Western readers. The author expresses the hope that through mutual understanding, good will, and cooperation "the peoples of the world . . . may one day learn and adopt the best from wherever it comes and by whomever it is offered." To this end he presents analyses of the four *asramas* and the four *varnas*, as well as of the Hindu teachings regarding the family and education.

E.S.B.

SOCIAL FICTION

A TIME TO LOVE AND A TIME TO DIE. A Novel by Erich Maria Remarque. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1954, pp. 378.

Translated from the German by Denver Lindley, this new novel about death and love by Erich Maria Remarque (*All Quiet on the Western Front*) is plainly the work of a gifted writer and storyteller. He never leaves any doubt about his ability to understand human beings and their behavior in critical situations. His story is simple, yet profound. A German soldier, Ernst Graeber, on leave from the rapidly crumbling German front in Russia, returns with eagerness to his native city only to find that bombing has half destroyed it and that even the familiar landmarks have disappeared. Only a handful of his former acquaintances are still living among the ruins, and even these are suspicious if not downright hostile toward him. Ernst, for them, is symbolic of the army that has failed to protect the land.

With difficulty, he finds the site of his former home, but his parents have disappeared completely, not even the badly kept records aiding him in his attempt to find them. In a half-destroyed apartment he finds the daughter of an old family friend, Dr. Kruse. Elizabeth remembers him but meets him with reluctance, since she is being carefully watched by a zealous Nazi woman patriot who has been the cause of Dr. Kruse's confinement in a concentration camp. In Elizabeth, Ernst recognizes something of the qualities which for him had characterized the German women he once knew. As her trust in Ernst grows, love enters and they decide to have one brief fling at happiness amidst the ruins. Both know that the marriage can be but for the few weeks of Ernst's leave.

This short time of love among the ruins, with the background of devastating bombing raids and wailing of sirens, is masterfully described. Pity and terror accompany the crushing of souls fleeing and attempting to live for another hour. Ernst and Elizabeth manage to catch the few moments of happiness that they so much desire. That fulfilled, Ernst bravely leaves his young bride for the cold darkness of the Russian front, knowing that he will never return and that his native Germany will not survive. Remarque has been able, through the creation of this story of the thriving of love in the face of utter disaster, to convey something of the most sinister side of war, not only as it has eaten into the hearts of the soldiers, but also as it has spread cancerous horror into the hearts of the people.

M.J.V.

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THE RISE AND DECLINE OF LIBERALISM. By Thomas P. Neill. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1953, pp. 321.

THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE SMALL TOWN IN FARM AREAS (A Study of Adams, Nebraska). By A. H. Anderson and C. J. Miller. Washington, D.C., and Lincoln, Nebraska: U.S. Department of Agriculture and College of Agriculture, University of Nebraska, 1953, pp. 32.

STUDY ON ADOPTION OF CHILDREN. New York: Columbia University Press and United Nations, 1954, pp. 104.

COMPARATIVE SURVEY ON JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. New York: Columbia University Press and United Nations, 1954, Part IV and Part V.

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